HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

Vol. XXVII, No. 46 Copyright 1967 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC. November 18, 1967

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Surveys 'Leaked' Anonymously

Doctored Polls Are Latest Pro-LBJ Gimmick

By TED LEWIS

As far as we are concerned, if President Johnson gets a real lift out of phonied-up popularity polls, he is welcome to enjoy the respite from reality.

But we resent the sneaky peddling of this misinformation, especially as the big idea is that the Gallup and Harris polls, for example, don't accurately reflect the way the President is politically admired around the country.

These doctored surveys, clearly released under White House auspices, purport to show that LBJ has more voter appeal in the states sampled than would be surmised from his low ratings nationally in the Gallup and Harris grassroots tappings, for example.

The states where these tests were made are New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, California and Texas.

The surveys of voter sentiment were made by the highly reputable Political Surveys and Analyses Inc., of Princeton, N.J., a firm headed by Archibald M. Crossley.

Crossley was commissioned to take these polls by, he says, "a private individual." The results, he understood, were similarly to be kept confidential. In addition, the client was informed that the data had qualifications attached to it, including the caution that there had to be limitations on judging the sample as reflecting the true situation in any specific state.

Now Crossley may well be the best goldarn public opinion pollster in the U.S., but he should have known better about how bigtime politicians operate. His findings were leaked but with the fine print withheld, and the Democratic sources that did this would not have so acted unless the White House had flashed the green light.

What particularly provoked Crossley was the way his findings in New Hampshire were twisted to make Johnson look good. In New Hampshire, Crossley—on instructions of his mystery client—sampled sentiment in one county—Strafford.

The White House has apparently distorted the findings of pollster Archibald Crossley (inset) in order to put the President in a more favorable light than is actually the case.

In this county, 241 adults were interviewed. These were the results: Nixon over Johnson 42 to 41 per cent; Johnson over Rockefeller 41 to 39 per cent; Johnson over Romney 48 to 30 per cent; Johnson over Reagan 47 to 30 per cent.

As this New Hampshire testing was leaked here in Washington, Strafford County was described as one of the bellwether counties of the nation, as well as in New Hampshire. In other words, it was a toss-up county, supposedly. Actually—and Crossley agrees—Strafford County has always been heavily weighted Democratic.

On that basis, the fair conclusion from Crossley's sampling has to be that LBJ is right now in a very bad way—he couldn't carry New Hampshire over any Republican, although it might be close, except that Nixon would be a shoo-in.

Similarly, the leak on the New York state Crossley survey did not mention the qualifications the Princeton firm put on its finding. The results, as put out by the politicians, showed Johnson preferred over Nixon, 53 to 3 per cent; and all other GOP hopefuls with less chance. Rockefeller was not included, nor was there any mention of him wanted by the Crossley firm's client.

The one leak that can be traced to a specific Democrat concerns the Pennsylvania survey, which showed LBJ favored over any mentioned Republican, including Rockefeller, on the basis of interviews with 657 adults.

This result was publicized by Vice President Humphrey in a Philadelphia party-morale-building speech.

The more recent leaks give Johnson, as expected, a marked edge over any mentioned Republican 1968 rival in Texas and California.

What Crossley is upset about in each instance is the politically inspired oversimplification of his findings.

He does not accuse the Administration's political flunkies of distortion, but of releasing poll information in such a way that "it is misunderstood."

"I've had about enough," he said on November 7. "There is a grave question as to whether I'll keep on." He added that if he had had the authority to release the data, it would not have been susceptible to misunderstanding.

Now the findings by the same pollsters are most suspect at the White House because they don't show the President looking so good.

Such a slump obviously posed quite a problem to the second-term kingmakers. The poll findings could be fatalistically accepted. The second course was taken. A reputable polling firm was hired, and then its findings "used" to the best political advantage.

The only question remaining is whether the President's own conclusion as to his political edge in the five states sampled takes into account the qualifications wrapped around their significance by Crossley.

If not, then perhaps he should have Crossley come to the White House to explain why a pollster's figures are not politically designed to make two and two equal four.

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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James L. Wick (1897-1964)
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Human Events is published weekly by Human Events, Inc., 422 First Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and other mailing offices. One year subscription, $12.50 (see coupon below).

U.S. national newsstand distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 155 W. 15th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

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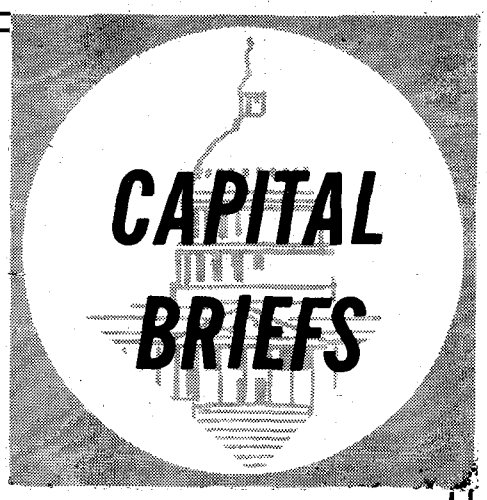

● *Democratic National Chairman* **John Bailey** received a rude jolt Tuesday when voters in what has long been his political fiefdom—Hartford, Conn.—elected a Republican, Ann Uccello, as mayor. Bailey had spent the campaign's final week in Hartford working against Miss Uccello, who becomes the city's first GOP mayor in two decades.

● Democratic organizational candidate Kevin White beat **Louise Day Hicks** for mayor of Boston last week, but the victory of White again revealed the weakness of the Democratic party in the cities. Mrs Hicks, famous for her support of neighborhood schools, was defeated by only 11,000 votes out of 190,000 cast, even though she was opposed by the regular Democratic party, including Sen. Edward Kennedy, and Republican Gov. John Volpe. Mrs. Hicks, moreover, might have won if she hadn't committed a number of blunders, including calling for a gigantic hike in police pay and then making a quick trip to Washington to see if she could get the federal government to foot the bill for the increase.

● The Office of Economic Opportunity (i.e., *the tax-paying public*) *is financing a suit against* California **Gov. Reagan** for cutting back on that state's multi-billion-dollar **welfare program.** The suit, brought in the name of Harvey Morris, a San Francisco welfare recipient, is the work of the poverty program's legal aid division. In the suit, Morris charges that Reagan violated state law by slashing Medicaid outlays which the governor said were bankrupting the state.

● The **peaceniks** received a stunning blow last week when San Franciscans rejected by a 2-to-1 margin a proposition on the ballot calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Viet Nam. But the peace forces haven't given up. A similar proposition was on the ballot in Cambridge, Mass., but the results are not yet in. Meanwhile, war opponents are planning to put more propositions opposed to our basic Viet Nam policy on ballots in various other cities, including Beverly Hills, Calif.

● No-Surprise Department: Negro playwright **Le Roi Jones,** who once received lavish funds from Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity, has been convicted of illegal possession of weapons during the riots in Newark, N.J., last July. Another man convicted on the same charge along with Jones: Charles McCray, 32, chief accountant for Newark's anti-poverty agency. The convictions are being appealed.

● Though Democratic Rep. **John Bell Williams** defeated Republican Rubel Phillips for the governor of Mississippi last week, Williams' win can hardly be considered a victory for LBJ and the national Democratic Administration. Williams, a staunch conservative, voted for Goldwater in 1964 and was subsequently stripped of seniority by House Democrats.

● The Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee denies it, but Dr. **Martin Luther King** says he has been invited by the group to attend talks in Russia aimed at ending the war in Viet Nam. King, who has spoken highly of the Viet Cong, stressed that he would meet with the North Vietnamese ambassador to Russia, the ambassador for the National Liberation Front and representatives of the governments of both South Viet Nam and the United States. He did not identify which members of the South Viet Nam government and the United States would be present. While a member of the Nobel committee denies that there are "definite plans," the Norwegian government has appropriated $21,000 to cover eventual travel costs for such a "peace mission."

● *A former congressman whom LBJ refused* to reappoint to a posh federal job, is now leading a "Dump Johnson" campaign in Connecticut. Former Connecticut Rep. **Frank Kowalski,** an ultra-liberal Democrat, was dropped by Johnson when his $26,500-a-year appointment on the Subversive Activities Control Board ran out last year. Kowalski, who recently participated in the peaceniks' March on the Pentagon, is organizing anti-Johnson Democrats in the Nutmeg State.

● **Pierre Salinger,** say the wags, may be preening himself for another political race in California sometime soon. Apparently noting the success of actors in politics, the roly-poly politico, once JFK's press secretary, has decided to star as a lawyer on "Batman." Pierre, as usual, will be defending the indefensible, this time Catwoman and the Joker.

● LBJ and Dean Rusk never seem to stress that Soviet Russia has an enormous influence over the Viet Cong, but the Soviets don't seem to hide their own participation in VC affairs. Indeed, none other than **Dan Tran Thi,** a member of the ruling presidium of the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the VCs, was showering praise on the Soviets last week while attending festivities in Leningrad honoring the 50th anniversary of Soviet communism. Among other things, he compared U.S. participation in Viet Nam to the Nazi seige of Leningrad, adding that the VC guerrillas have adopted Leningrad's war-time slogan: "We shall die rather than retreat one step."

● LBJ may get his **tax hike** this year after all. The President's oft-time friend, Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), suggests that he might now go along with a $4-billion increase if the President will cut spending by $4 billion. The GOP leader in the Senate says he thinks he can get LBJ to go along with the idea.

● Up for re-election next year, Sen. **Joseph Clark** (D.-Pa.) is not exactly happy with the thin victory margin Democratic Mayor James Tate of Philadelphia polled last week over his Republican opponent. In order to win in '68, the liberal Clark, already in trouble because of his divorce and remarriage, will need a much larger majority in Philadelphia.

● Speaking to the International Rescue Committee in New York recently, Sen. **Edward Kennedy** (D.-Mass.) blamed the United States—not the North Vietnamese—for causing the terrible plight of homeless refugees in South Viet Nam.

● The Worker, official organ of the U.S. Communist party, is vigorously pushing the **"Dump Johnson Movement"** (DJM). The front page of the November 5 edition gives three-column space to SANE, a prime mover in the DJM.

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Bad News for Democrats

Democratic politicos are putting on a brave front, but the results of last week's elections were far more damaging to them than they care to admit publicly. Here are some of the reasons why:

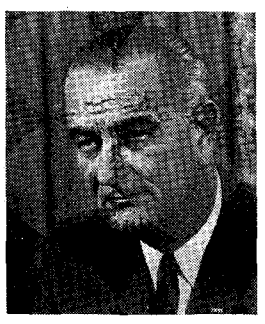
• Democratic candidates won the mayorships of many of the big cities, but only by razor-thin margins, thus revealing dramatic defects in many metropolitan Democratic party machines. Republicans Seth Taft in Cleveland, Joseph Radigan in Gary and Arlen Specter in Philadelphia came within an ace of winning the mayorships in each of these formerly Democratic strongholds, a fact that is positively chilling to Democratic party pros. Taft came within a few thousand votes of beating Negro Carl Stokes, though the Republicans haven't won the Cleveland mayorship since 1939. Specter, who might have won if he had run a better campaign, would have been the first Republican to rule Philadelphia since 1951. Moreover, the GOP actually picked up strength in some cities, winning mayoralty races in Indianapolis, Ind., Hartford, Conn., and even Macon, Ga., which hasn't seen a Republican mayor in its history. The failure of the Democrats to pile up sizable majorities in the big cities bodes ill for the national ticket in 1968, for the professionals know that Johnson and Humphrey will have to carry the big cities by comfortable margins to balance the normal Republican majorities gathered in the rural and suburban areas. But judging by 1967, this now looks like an almost impossible task.

TAFT

• Undoubtedly the Republicans benefited from the backlash issue in both Gary and Cleveland, but the hard fact remains that the Democratic big-city machines were unable to deliver large-sized majorities in other metropolitan areas as well. So weak were the machines in Gary, Cleveland and Philadelphia, for example, that they couldn't even pick the men they wanted to run. Stokes, Hatcher and Tate were all insurgents who bucked the regular Democrats to get nominated.

• Republican gains in Kentucky have also unsettled the Democrats. Though 3-to-1 Democratic in registration, Kentucky voters gave a handy victory margin to conservative Louie B. Nunn, who became the first Republican governor in the state since 1943 by defeating Democrat Henry Ward, a former state highway commissioner. The significance of Nunn's victory was that he campaigned as much against Lyndon Johnson and the national Democratic Administration as he did against the local Democrats. Bringing in big-name conservative Republicans like Ronald Reagan and John Tower, Nunn stressed that a vote for him would be a vote against LBJ.

• Perhaps the biggest GOP gains were made in New Jersey, where Republicans recaptured both houses of the legislature, winning phenomenal majorities of 3 to 1 in the Senate and 2½ to 1 in the Assembly. Democrats had controlled both houses by 2 to 1. According to the latest returns from most of the state's 21 counties, the Republicans routed Democratic legislative slates in heavily populated Bergen, Essex and Passaic counties. Stunned by the extent of the defeat, one leading Democrat remarked: "It was a reaction against President Johnson, against last summer's riots . . . against the war in Viet Nam, against taxes, against anyone who was in office." Webster B. Todd, the state party chairman for the GOP, had used this anti-LBJ slogan: "Why Wait till '68." New Jersey voters were also fed up with the policies of Democratic Gov. Richard Hughes, who had supported busing of school children and an unemployment compensation law that would benefit strikers.


LBJ

In sum, with Republicans showing dramatic improvements in the cities and winning big in such states as Kentucky and New Jersey, the liberal Democrats' cause for concern appears well justified. (For more on last week's elections, see page 5.)

Social Security Hiked

• On a straight party-line vote, the Senate Finance Committee last week approved in final form an expanded Social Security package providing the largest increase in cash benefits for Social Security recipients since the program was started. Republicans refused to go along with the bill, for while it increases benefits during election year 1968, the measure, unlike the one tentatively endorsed last week, raises taxes only slightly and not enough to cover the costs involved.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Poverty Warriors Deep in Politics

The mayoralty race in Philadelphia may actually produce a major setback for the President's anti-poverty program now being debated in the House. A little-known story about that race concerns the fact that federally financed anti-poverty workers played a major role in trying to elect Democratic Mayor James Tate over Republican challenger Arlen Specter.

While organized labor concentrated its efforts for Tate in low and middle-income white areas, anti-poverty officials were stumping for the mayor in Negro neighborhoods. The weekend before the election, employes of the Philadelphia Antipoverty Action Committee (PAAC) fanned out across the ghetto and distributed thousands of copies of a letter denouncing Specter for his alleged criticism of the poverty program.

"I ordered that letter sent everyplace," said Samuel L. Evans, PAAC vice chairman. "I ordered them sent to the Community Action Council offices and we put them out in many churches [Sunday]."

Asked if the letter constituted involvement in politics, Evans minced no words:

"You don't have to worry if I'm in politics or not. There's no doubt about that. I'm voting for Tate and asking everybody in Philadelphia to vote for Tate."

Barbara L. Weems, PAAC's acting executive director, defended Evans' action: "Mr. Evans is a private citizen and he could set up 50,000 copies of anything he wanted and have them distributed at any place he wanted."

Rep. James Gardner (N.C.) has tried to attach sweeping restrictions to the political activities of anti-poverty workers, but so far his efforts have been to little avail. A similar but softer amendment sponsored by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) may be adopted by the House, but many observers believe her measure would not be nearly as effective as one along the lines proposed by Rep. Gardner.

Another State Security Risk

Muckraker Drew Pearson continues to harp on alleged homosexuals that Gov. Ronald Reagan fired from his staff some time ago, but he somehow seems totally unconcerned about the fact that the State Department, as a matter of deliberate policy, continues to promote admitted homosexuals to important positions affecting America's national security.

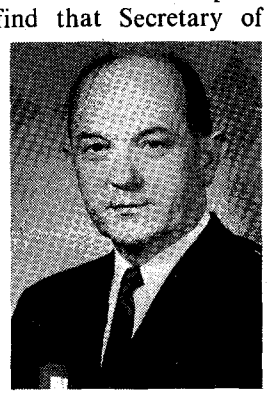
Recently, for example, a former Kentucky resident, who had confessed his participation in homosexual acts, was promoted in the U.S. Foreign Service to a $24,000-a-year post in Western Europe. The man had not only acknowledged his deviant behavior to security officers, but had been examined by a department medical team that recommended that he not be put in sensitive positions.

Nevertheless, the State Department recommended his promotion to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee without tipping off committee members as to his record. The Senate then approved his promotion.

William Macomber, assistant secretary of state in charge of congressional relations, acknowledges that the man has been in "some trouble" but says he has a "valid clearance and is not currently under investigation."

Rusk Toasts Red Revolution

Veteran anti-Communists in the Nation's Capital were shocked last week to find that Secretary of State Dean Rusk has broken one of his longstanding social rules to celebrate communism's seizure of power in Russia 50 years ago.


RUSK

The secretary of state has made it an article of faith not to attend 6-to-8 p.m. cocktail parties, but Rusk decided to break precedent on November 7 to take part in festivities at the Russian Embassy.

Pictures in Washington's papers the next day revealed Rusk toasting the "revolution" with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin.

Asked why he violated his usual rule against such parties, Rusk merrily explained to everybody: "Well, for the 50th anniversary, I make an exception."

Diplomatic Row says this sort of fawning over the Soviets is symbolic of what's wrong with our foreign policy: an almost morbid desire to appease the Soviets at every turn. While Rusk was happily toasting the creation of the Soviet Union, the Soviets were using the anniversary as a launching pad to hurl abuse at the United States and to vow greatly increased aid to the North Vietnamese.

In Moscow, in fact, Soviet Communist party chieftain Leonid Brezhnev, keynoting the 50th anniversary celebration, compared American activities in Viet Nam to "the atrocities of the Fascist brutes. . . ." Following Brezhnev's speech, the Soviets paraded their military strength in Red Square, unveiling five new missiles.

Meanwhile, back at home, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara revealed that the Soviets had broken the spirit, if not the letter, of the space treaty by developing a fractional orbital bomb that could be operational as early as 1968.

With Russian belligerence still very much in evidence, diplomatic veterans say the spectacle of Rusk going out of his way to soothe the Soviets can only lose the confidence of our allies and encourage the Communists in regard to America's determination to resist Red aggression.

'Instant Welfare' Next?

By a vote of 2 to 1 the liberal U.S. Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia has struck down as unconstitutional an act of Congress that requires persons to live in the District for one year before they may receive welfare payments. If the Supreme Court upholds the ruling, this could mean that welfare residency requirements will be thrown out the window not only in the District of Columbia but in 40 other states.

Chief Judge David L. Bazelon, a long-time judicial activist appointed to the Court of Appeals by Fair Deal President Harry S Truman, and liberal Judge Charles Fahy joined in the majority opinion which contended that the residency requirement violated the right of welfare recipients to equal protection of

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laws guaranteed them under the 5th Amendment to the Constitution. Judge Alexander Holtzoff dissented, scoffing at the notion that a constitutional issue had been raised.

Court decrees that welfare residency requirements are "unconstitutional" are not only absurd, say judicial experts who believe there is no constitutional right to welfare whatsoever, but will heavily penalize those states and localities which provide substantial welfare for the poor.

Those states that award big benefits will undoubtedly become a "Mecca" for indigents and relieve those states which provide less welfare. The cost to certain localities will also be enormous. If there had been no residency requirement in the District of Columbia last year, for example, the city's cost of welfare would have risen from $250,000 to $500,000 per year, according to District welfare officials.

An interesting thing about the 2-to-1 decision in Washington is that the taxpayer can thank LBJ's anti-poverty program and, perhaps, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark for the outcome. The suit challenging the district law was successfully pressed by the federally funded anti-poverty agency in Washington, the Neighborhood Legal Services Project.

Furthermore, as *Human Events* noted in its November 4 issue, Atty. Gen. Clark was invited to present argumentations in support of the residency requirement, but neither he nor one of his subordinates did so.

• Note: The recent case in Washington is not the first of its kind. Federal courts in three other states —Connecticut, Delaware and Pennsylvania—have ruled similar welfare residency laws as unconstitutional, with all cases now pending before the Supreme Court.

McCarthy Defends Red Chinese

No wonder Democratic doves are supporting Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.) in his bid to challenge President Lyndon Johnson in the Democratic primaries next year.

McCARTHY

In a recent book called *The Limits of Power,* published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, the Minnesota protege of Hubert Humphrey has astounded even some of his Washington friends by his amazing apologia for Communist China's brutal aggressions all over the world.

McCarthy defends as "nationalistic"—not Communistic—Red China's attempts to recover such "lost territories" as Hong Kong, Macao, parts of Soviet Asia, Tibet, land along the Sino-Indian frontier and Taiwan and the offshore islands.

Recovery of these lands by Red China, says McCarthy, is "shared by *all* Chinese" (emphasis added), thus fostering the blatant untruth that the Communist rulers of the mainland speak for Chinese all over the globe.

"In Chinese eyes," McCarthy continues, again blandly equating the thoughts of Mao with those of all Chinese, "it is not an expansionist position, for they consider that these territories were taken forcibly from China by the unequal treaties imposed on her during the 19th Century, or, in the case of Taiwan, were denied to her by the military power of the U.S. 7th Fleet."

While most of McCarthy's statements are snickered at by scholars, the Minnesotan's suggestion that "all Chinese" somehow want Taiwan returned to a China ruled by Mao has been particularly ridiculed.

That contention, it is pointed out, has to be based on either of two preposterous assumptions: that the Chinese on Taiwan, who have been battling the Communists on the mainland for several decades now, are not Chinese or that while Taiwanese have been laying down their lives to prevent a Communist takeover, they seriously desire to be a part of Mao's empire!

The Minnesotan even goes so far as to defend Red Chinese aggression in Korea. "What the United Nations officially labeled Chinese aggression in Korea," McCarthy states, "was, in fact, a move which the Chinese considered, with some justification, given the statement of U.S. military leaders at the time, a defense of their vital interests close to their own frontier."

Such are the views of the man who is now seriously thinking of challenging LBJ for the Democratic nomination in 1968.

Demos Are Proved as Spenders

One reason the people turned against LBJ and the Democrats in 1967 is that they were disgusted with the financial chaos produced by the Administration. And proof positive that the Democrats are the party of reckless spending has just been confirmed anew by Rep. Jack Edwards (R.-Ala.), who has issued a newsletter revealing how each party's delegation in the House has voted this year on major items affecting the federal budget. Among the 23 votes: consideration of a $5-billion cut in federal spending, a proposed $225-million reduction in the Demonstration Cities program and a spending limit on Treasury and Post Office Appropriations.

EDWARDS

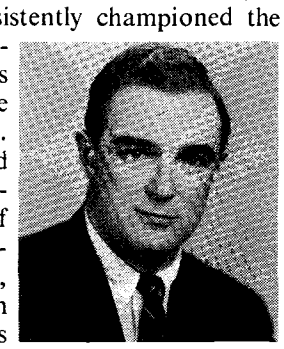
Edwards noted that the overwhelming majority of the GOP House members endorsed reduced federal spending every time one of the 23 proposals came up for a vote. On five of the votes, 100 per cent of the Republicans present supported economy. On no occasion did fewer than 65 per cent of the House Republicans back trimmed expenditures.

The Democratic record in the House has been strikingly different. On no occasion did a majority of Democrats ever vote for economy; indeed, the highest number that could be mustered to support a spending cut at any time was 36 per cent. On several rollcalls, fewer than 10 per cent of the Democrats in the House voted for economy.

Thus when President Johnson badgers Congress to cut spending which he called for in the first place, he should obviously direct his fire at his own party—not, as he often does, at the Republicans.

Busing a Bust

U.S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe II and other radicals have consistently championed the idea of "busing" slum children into middle-class schools as a panacea for lifting the educational level of the poor. Under various acts passed by Congress, the federal government spends millions of dollars a year on such transportation schemes. Now, however, it develops that even liberals don't think busing is of much help.



HOWE

Prof. David J. Fox of the City University of New York has written a report on busing for the Center for Urban Education, a research group engaged in surveying federally aided school programs for New York City's Board of Education.

His basic findings: bused children do well, but when the bused children are matched with children of similar ability and background who stay in the slum schools, there is no significant difference.

Meanwhile, the Stanford Research Institute last week published a study of busing in San Franciscoo where the school system has been transporting about 600 children out of slum schools to middle-class neighborhoods for the last year and a half. The result? "In this period of time, nothing major has happened," said Thomas C. Thomas and Philip H. Sorensen, who wrote the report.

The Washington *Post*, itself a major proponent of such liberal policies, also remarked in a separate news story: "Present evidence seems to show that slum children do not make substantially better progress in middle-class neighborhoods' schools than in slum schools."

Soviet Concentration Camps

Moscow celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution last week as free world "experts" gushed over the increasing "liberalization" of the Soviet Union.

The New York *Times*, for instance, ran a lengthy series on Soviet life—with articles on art, fashion and literature—and never once mentioned the slave labor camps that dot the USSR. A penetrating look at these installations appeared recently in a London *Spectator* article by Tibor Szamuely.

"The subject of forced labor camps and their inhuman conditions is by no means a dead issue. So far from having been abolished, the Soviet labor camp system is at present enjoying rude health and expanding quite vigorously.

"Since, unlike the 'Fascist' countries like Greece or Rhodesia, the Russian press is not merely censored by the government, but also written, edited, proofread, set up, printed and distributed by it, information about the camps is hard to come by. All the more valuable, therefore, is a recent first-hand description of current conditions at the notorious Potma camp about 200 miles southeast of Moscow, by a former inmate of the camp whose authenticity is not questioned."

Szamuely writes that 100,000 men and women are imprisoned at Potma, the great majority of them "politicals," including famed authors Andrei Sinyavsky and Uli Daniel.

The 75-square-mile camp is run by the dread KGB and prisoners are given a daily ration of 20 ounces of bread, three bowls of soup and a bowl of porridge. Those who fail to "cooperate" with prison authorities are placed on a starvation diet of 10 ounces of bread a day, with a bowl of soup every fourth day.

Price of Inflation

How good an investment is a United States government bond under the Democratic Administration? On Nov. 2, 1967 a $1,000 Treasury bond that was first issued 13½ years ago traded at only $757.50. If you allow for the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, the $1,000 you lent the government back in early 1955 is now really worth only $606.

"It's no wonder," remarked the New York *Times* (which should know, since its editorials bear part of the blame), "that the government has to pay high interest rates to convince people to buy its bonds." In the same week, it was noted, the Treasury sold $12.2 billion worth of notes, some of which carried a 5¾ per cent interest rate—the highest rate since mid-1921—and yet they traded in the bond market below their offering price. Such are the consequences of the inflationary, deficit-creating policies of LBJ and his liberal friends.

Businessmen Cooling on LBJ

Along with a loss of confidence in bonds, businessmen are also losing their confidence in LBJ. At a recent meeting of the blue-ribbon Business Council, influential executives remarked that the honeymoon was over.

The Washington Post's business analyst, Hobart Rowen, has remarked that many businessmen, formerly very sympathetic to LBJ, are now in a "snappish" mood and complain the President is consulting them less and less.

For some company men, says Rowen, the feeling of conviviality toward LBJ has evaporated because they face "a new profits squeeze and a new interest rate crunch lies ahead—with the Administration apparently powerless or unwilling to halt it. That spells the possibility of controls—perhaps credit rationing, or even price controls."

So bad have things become that one noted financier who used to organize businessmen's groups for Johnson that would kick in lavish sums to the Democratic party confessed it would be difficult to repeat that sort of activity in 1968. In short, businessmen, too, may be joining the "Dump LBJ" movement.

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POLITICS '68

COPE

Overall, the campaigns of the AFL-CIO's **Committee on Political Education** were successful last week, one year after COPE suffered the worst defeat in its history with the congressional elections of 1966. COPE showed that it still packs a powerful political punch in its traditional powerbase, the large cities, and that it can deliver the rank-and-file vote when the chips are down.

• COPE's most impressive win was the victory of Mayor **James Tate** in Philadelphia (see story below), where it was virtually the sole organizational support of the incumbent candidate. The reason for labor's all-out role in this race, according to COPE National Director Al Barkan, was the theory that as Philadelphia went this year, the state will go next year, and as Pennsylvania goes in the 1968 presidential contest, so goes the entire East Coast. With this version of the "domino theory" in mind, COPE stocked Tate's war chest, staffed his campaign organization and won him an upset victory over GOP liberal Arlen Specter.

TATE

• After sticking with incumbent Mayor Ralph Locher in the Democratic primary, Cleveland COPE forces switched to primary winner **Carl Stokes** in the general election and put its well-oiled machine to work in his behalf. While it is impossible to assess what percentage of the rank-and-file vote went to Stokes, it is certain that the official AFL-CIO endorsement aided the liberal Negro Democrat considerably.

• Likewise, in Gary, Ind., local COPE politicos had opposed Negro **Richard Hatcher** in the Democratic primary but came around to his side in the general campaign, and this support was instrumental in Hatcher's attraction of white voters in his hairbreadth victory.

• Boston's mayoralty race, another campaign with racial overtones, found COPE and other local labor forces making no official commitment, letting the membership work and vote for whom they pleased; figuring the traditionally liberal Democratic complexion of Massachusetts labor, however, it is expected that most of this working and voting was for the benefit of victor **Kevin White.**

• Like almost every other major political-interest group, New York State COPE urged its members to vote "NO" on the proposed new **Empire State constitution;** as a result of the overwhelming rejection of the document, COPE could not claim any more of the victory than the Republican, Liberal or Conservative parties.

• The most significant defeat for COPE forces in 1967 was the victory of Republican **Louie Nunn** in the Kentucky gubernatorial election. COPE was working for Democrat Harry Ward, but, like many Ward supporters, it could not get too enthusiastic over the career state bureaucrat who carried the liberal banner; in this light, the setback for Kentucky labor cannot be viewed as overwhelming.

In sum, this mixed bag of results should give those who predicted a decline in labor political power after 1966 some cause to stop and reconsider the situation. COPE will be back in '68 and could have sufficient power to carry the vital big-city vote for LBJ.

LBJ AND LABOR

President Johnson's stock with organized labor—at least its leadership—received a boost last week with the release of results from a series of polls taken at recent **labor union conventions.** At these conclaves—three union conventions and 12 state AFL-CIO gatherings—some 4,500 state and local labor leaders were asked to list their favorite 1968 presidential candidate.

LBJ was named on 2,473 ballots, or 54 per cent, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D.-N.Y.) received 16.9 per cent of the votes and former Alabama Gov. George Wallace 5.9 per cent. Republicans all trailed far behind, with New York's Nelson Rockefeller "leading" with 4.6 per cent, followed by Richard Nixon with 3.8 per cent.

The poll results show conclusively that, no matter how poor a job a Democratic Administration may be doing, American labor leadership is irrevocably **committed to the Democratic party** and will support its presidential candidate. What the rank and file will do in 1968 is, of course, another question.

WALLACE

U.S. News and World Report notes that a poll taken among farmers in 10 states of the South by Southern Farm Publications shows former Gov. **George Wallace** of Alabama far out in front. When three different Republican nominees are put up against LBJ with Wallace in the race the results are as follows: Nixon, 19%; Johnson 4%; Wallace 77%. Or Reagan 33%; Johnson 3%; Wallace 64%. Or: Romney 6%; Johnson 3%; Wallace 91%.

• Supporters of former Gov. George C. Wallace claimed a victory in **Louisiana** last week. Though avowed Wallace champion Rep. John Rarick (D.-La.) was soundly whipped for the gubernatorial nomination by incumbent Gov. John McKeithen, Wallace backers claimed victory in a fight to control Louisiana's Democratic State Central Committee. However, the results remain in doubt and many candidates face run-offs in the second primary on December 16.

McKEITHEN

Fiery segregationist **Leander H. Perez,** who is a leader of the Wallace forces in Louisiana, said that Wallaceites won control of the party committee. If this turns out to be the case, Wallace will have a good chance of running on the regular Democratic ticket under the rooster emblem, forcing Johnson to go on the ballot as a third-party nominee.

The state committee in 1966 voted for a plan proposed by Perez under which there would be an **August 1968 primary** to decide whether presidential electors pledged to Johnson or Wallace would be the organization Democrats in the general election.

Loyalists have been fighting to alter this controversial plan, claiming that it will only aid Wallace, and the new state committee will be free to retain or reject it. (In 1948 in Louisiana, States' Rights candidate Strom Thurmond had the rooster symbol and official designation as presidential candidate of the Democratic party. He won handily over electors pledged to President Truman who ran as third-party nominees under a donkey symbol.)

PHILADELPHIA

A major loser in the Philadelphia mayoralty race appears to be **liberal Republicanism;** the biggest winner, the political forces of organized labor (see COPE story). In more immediate terms, the re-election of Mayor James Tate over GOP candidate Arlen Specter in the nation's fourth largest city was one of the few relatively bright spots for President Johnson and the Democrats, who think they can now carry the Keystone State for the national ticket in 1968.

Liberal Specter, a registered Democrat who switched to the GOP to be elected Philadelphia district attorney in 1965, campaigned in the image of his ideological pal, John Lindsay of New York, promising to reform the machine-run City of Brotherly Love and even receiving ADA support.

SPECTER

Like Lindsay, moreover, Specter became a master of **dodging the issues.** During the campaign, he remained in the awkward position of staying neutral on a controversial measure to provide state aid to parochial schools (Mayor Tate, aware of the city's powerful Catholic bloc, backed it) and of refusing to respond to Tate's charge that Specter would fire Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, a tough-minded policeman whose authoritative actions are considered largely responsible for keeping the lid on Philadelphia last summer.

Specter's weaseling on such issues and his generally uninspired campaign were mainly responsible for turning his estimated mid-summer lead into an 11,000-vote defeat.

Meanwhile, Mayor Tate, who had beaten back a rugged primary challenge by a candidate of the regular Democratic organization, had going for him the considerable Democratic registration edge, his active political supporters in the city's anti-poverty program (see page 3) and the united backing of Philadelphia's AFL-CIO unions.

With the Specter defeat in Philadelphia voting, national liberal Republican promoters have yet to prove conclusively that their brand of party doctrine can definitely win over the big cities, even when the opponent is, like Tate, a bland, party hack whose own organization tried to rebel against him. Organized labor, on the other hand, has rebounded from its serious 1966 setback to dramatically demonstrate that—in Philadelphia, at least—it can still deliver the vote.

NEW JERSEY

The stunning triumphs racked up by GOP legislative candidates in **New Jersey** were achieved in spite of the party's titular leader, Sen. Clifford Case.

Twice during the closing weeks of the campaign, Case rushed to the aid of Democratic Gov. Richard Hughes' state administration. In doing so, Case alienated not only conservative Republicans but many GOP liberals as well. As political correspondent Anthony Day of the Philadelphia Bulletin reported:

CASE

"The liberals are beginning to make the same kind of **complaint about Case** the conservatives have always made, the complaint that he works too far outside the party and sometimes works against the party."

Case first angered New Jersey Republicans when he repudiated his party's position calling for repeal of a state law **guaranteeing strikers unemployment benefits** (see Human Events, last week).

The ultra-liberal solon then rebuked GOP candidates who were calling for the resignation of Dr. Carl Marburger, the state commissioner of education.

The GOP defense of **neighborhood schools** was denounced by Case as political expediency—an attack that angered party liberals as well as conservatives. As correspondent Day noted on election eve:

"If both wings of the party were still angry at Case after the election, his plan to hold New Jersey's Republican delegation together under his own favorite son banner may be ruined."

• The New Jersey contest also revealed that big labor can be beaten if conservatives put their shoulders to the political wheel. Virtually every Republican in the state legislature opposed a labor union-supported measure which provided unemployment compensation to workers after they are on strike for six weeks. When the law passed the Democrat-controlled legislature, the GOP made it a major issue in the campaign.

An initial study of the elections showed victory for 26 senatorial candidates and 47 assembly candidates who pledged repeal of this liberal legislation. Only six candidates favoring repeal, four of whom were from strongly Democratic Hudson County, were defeated. In the assembly, nine candidates on record for repeal—five of them from Hudson—were defeated.

Democrat Frank Dodd, who was strongly identified in favor of repeal, was the only suburban Democrat to survive the GOP landslide. Dodd was also the only Essex Democrat who refused last April to vote for the striker-compensation bill.

IOWA

Iowa politicos—Republicans and Democrats alike—are still buzzing about Ronald Reagan's recent appearance in **Des Moines.** "He'd beat Johnson hands down," a top state Democrat commented glumly after Reagan's tumultuous reception.

The **California governor** drew 8,700 to a GOP fund-raising affair at the Veterans Memorial Auditorium. In contrast, LBJ could attract only 2,500 in his last Iowa appearance. A much-ballyhooed appearance by Teddy Kennedy drew a Des Moines crowd of 2,800 last month.

GOP ATHLETES

While the press is full of reports on Republican officeholders and candidates who are former entertainment stars, less noticed is the rapidly increasing number of GOP officials who are former standout athletes. In last week's elections two more ex-sportsmen were added to the Republican ranks which already include former Olympic decathlon champion Rep. **Bob Mathias** (Calif.) and **Tom Gola.**

In the 1967 balloting former Pittsburgh Pirate pitching ace **Bob Friend** was elected GOP controller of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), upsetting the chairman of the county's strong Democratic party who had held the post for 20 years. In Watchung, Somerset County, N.J., Republican **Bobby Thomson,** who as the New York Giant third baseman won the 1951 National League playoff against the Brooklyn Dodgers with a dramatic ninth inning home run, was elected to a city council seat.

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State Dept. Still Won't Let Ian Smith Enter U.S.

By VICTOR LASKY

Every now and then the State Department does something that can only bring into question this nation's commitment to free speech. Some years ago State successfully barred Congo leader Moise Tshombe from entering this country to plead the cause of Katanga independence. Today, the department seems determined to prevent Prime Minister Ian Smith from telling Rhodesia's story directly to the American people.

It's a shocking state of affairs. So shocking, in fact, that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) intends to make an issue of it. "This seems like the classic kind of government interference not only with the right of a foreign visitor to express his opinions, but with the right of the American people to form their own judgments on political situations," said the ACLU.

Some months ago, Mr. Smith was invited to speak before the student forum of the University of Virginia Law School. The forum has a distinguished record. Back in the early '50s, in fact, its chairman was a student named Robert F. Kennedy, who has since gone on to better things.

While Bobby was in charge, the forum always had exciting speakers, ranging from Ralph Bunche to the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

In extending the invitation to the prime minister, the student forum made clear that it was not approving or disapproving the so-called white supremacist policy of the Rhodesian government. Mr. Smith replied that he would come over in the spring if he could be assured of admission to the United States.

When student officials, as well as some Virginia congressmen, asked the State Department about it, State gave out some gobbledegook about how no final decision could be made until Mr. Smith made formal application for a visa. "What is involved in our view is not legal technicality," the department added, "but a political act affecting our foreign relations."

Evidently the department had already made up its mind. It explained that the United States still recognizes British sovereignty over Rhodesia despite the fact that it has unilaterally declared its independence from the motherland. In other words, because Mr. Smith obviously will be unable to have his passport validated by the British, he will be unable to come to this country.

What is ironic about all this is that the department permits the free entry of self-styled "black revolutionaries" from African territories still under control of Portugal. Portugese objections are overlooked. Which is as it should be. For the freedom to hear all points of view is part and parcel of our democratic way of life.

Meanwhile, the State Department remains mum about the plight of Moise Tshombe, one of the great African statesmen, who is languishing incommunicado in an Algerian jail where apparently he is being drugged and tortured.

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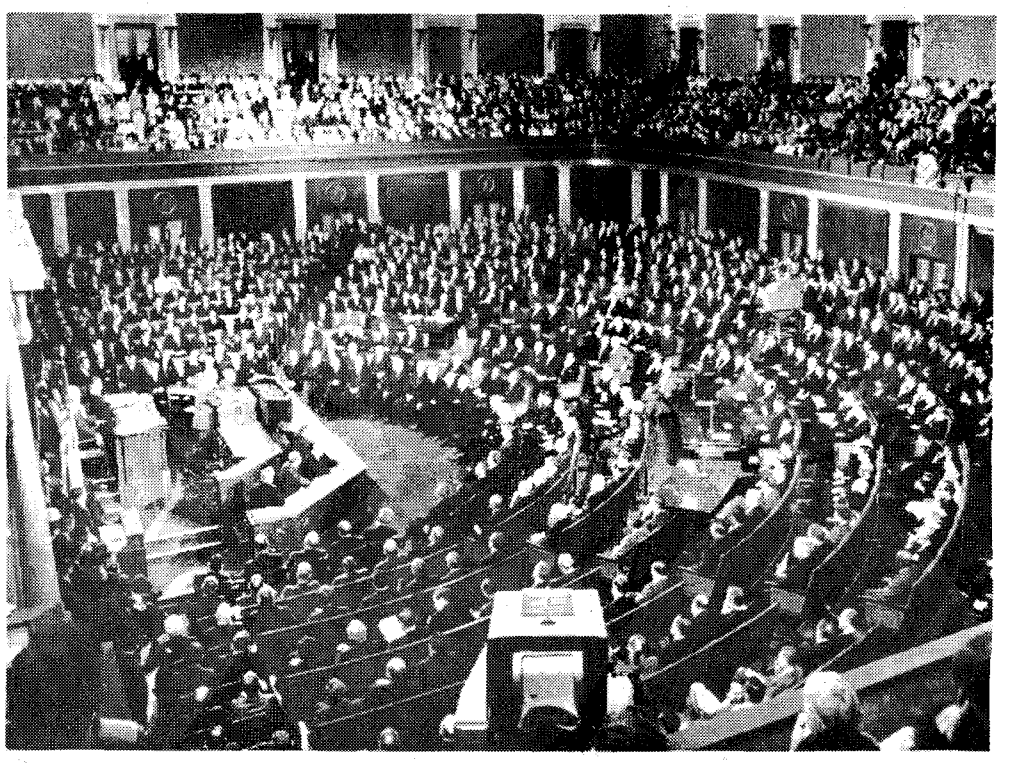

Memo to Conservatives:

Your Prodding Begins to Pay Off

By PAUL HARVEY

If "conservative" means conserving our nation's resources, some of us willingly accept the label.

If "conservative" means hanging onto what we have with one hand while we reach for something better—as a noun or as an adjective—it is a good and honorable word.

But some construe a "conservative" as an obstructionist, unwilling to accept change, demanding we turn back the clock.

Well, I'll tell you, it sometimes seems a thankless row to hoe for constitustitutional Americans. Through such columns as these and in our public declamations we urge our contemporaries to revive, reinforce, reinsist on integrity in politics, on reduced federal extravagance, on leading the world by example, as we used to.

And we sometimes feel like so many unheard voices in the wilderness, Don Quixotes tilting with windmills, fanning moonbeams with our hats.

For the same reason the coach studies the films of last week's game—so his team won't make the same mistakes again—we of the loyal opposition seek to focus attention on what's wrong, hopeful that you will set it right.

And eventually you do.

When history adds up the debits and credits of this Congress, it will record that malfeasance, chicanery and unbecoming conduct in public office were dealt with promptly and forcefully. One congressman was unseated, a senator publicly rebuked.

And when we get our next bill for foreign aid, it will be smaller than the last one. We have nagged about welfare abuse, and Congress has tightened those purse strings.

Yesterday the politicians who promised the most something-for-nothing got the most applause and the most votes. Today the most inspired audiences are those who respond to the fundamentalist doctrine of a Ronald Reagan when he says, "Let's stop—at home and abroad—being our brother's keeper; let's start really being his brother, and let him keep himself."

Thus, gradually but inevitably, conservative editors and orators can see their years of persistent prodding paying off.

Conservatives conscientiously seeking to conserve our most priceless resource—our sons—have consistently demanded that our government mind its own business whenever possible. Wherever our self-interest is menaced to the degree that we must fight, we should fight to win.

And after years of patient and sometimes impatient pestering, insisting and haranguing, we can see the similar sentiments of grass-roots Americans measured by George Gallup.

The incumbent Administration can see it, too. And for no other reason than you, our White House is now increasing military pressure on enemy lifelines.

When you got smart you got mad and got busy.

The dogma of the infallibility of big government is being dislodged. The tax-and-spend ad infinitum philosophy is being discredited. The clock is being turned back.

Good for you.

When the clock is wrong, that is a necessary correction.

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CURING INFLATION—"Prof. Milton Friedman, president of the American Economic Association, doubts that the tax increase requested by the White House would act as a brake on the inflationary trend. His argument is based on the cynical observation that the government can always be counted on to spend more as it takes in more. The only way the government can be kept from expanding the so-called 'public sector,' says the professor, is to give it less."—Syndicated columnist John Chamberlain.

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Letter from a 'Graduate'

GAO Reports More Waste and Scandal in Job Corps

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

The House was debating the $2.06-billion anti-poverty bill last week as this issue went to press. Several amendments for heavy reductions will be offered on the floor and the final rollcall vote will be reported in **Human Events**.

A sharply critical, unpublished General Accounting Office report is weighing importantly in the impending House battle over continuing the widely controversial multi-billion-dollar anti-poverty program.

The GAO findings zero in severely on the Job Corps—one of the two major issues of the House fight. The other is Community Action agencies, under countrywide fire on numerous charges, foremost among them engaging in partisan politics and inciting and participating in demonstrations, riots and other violent disturbances.

The outlook in the House is not promising for the turbulence-wracked and scandal-scarred Job Corps.

Among both Democrats and Republicans there is strong opposition to this project—which has cost some $865 million in its three years' existence and produced at the most not more than 15,000 so-called "graduates," about whose subsequent employment little is known.

Only recently did the Office of Economic Opportunity hire a private research agency to try to find out what happened.

House Democratic leaders have told President Johnson it's very possible the House may kill the costly Job Corps program, and replace it with the Republicans' Community Skill Centers to train youths in conjunction with local industries.

The GOP plan would be administered by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. Its cost is put at $190 million to train 43,350 enrollees at an average outlay of $3,500, as against $295 million earmarked for the Job Corps with an enrollment of 38,000 and an average cost of $7,500.

In an effort to placate the extensive bipartisan hostility to the Job Corps, the Education and Labor Committee put a $6,500 ceiling on trainee costs. But a Senate subcommittee report indicates this is largely meaningless.

The study disclosed that the prevailing $7,500 limitation is being disregarded by OEO by not including other expenditures—such as $854 per enrollee for training equipment and materials, $603 for recruitment, placement and administrative expenses, and $600 for amortization of capital investment.

The Senate report held that the average Job Corps enrollee cost actually was $8,664 in men's centers, and $9,735 per enrollee in women's centers—notwithstanding the statutory $7,500 ceiling.

The critical report of the General Accounting Office—an agency of Congress—potently reinforces the tide of pronounced bipartisan disapproval of the Job Corps.

Not only do the GAO findings give official substantiation to the widespread charges and complaints against this project—scandals, excessive costs, mismanagement, waste, bungling and meager results. But they are particularly significant because they focus on Camp Parks, Pleasanton, Calif., long hailed by OEO officials as "one of the best" Job Corps centers.

President Johnson has visited much-ballyhooed Job Corps centers, but in many camps, the situation is not as rosy as the Administration wants people to believe.

That isn't what the GAO thinks. After a detailed study, it reached very different conclusions, as follows:

"While the contractor has reported that a number [of enrollees] have been successfully trained and placed, an even larger number have left without completing a training program. Information has not been prepared to show the gains made by individuals during their stay at the center.

"The contractor's initial estimated program costs have been far exceeded in operation, and we are of the opinion that some costs have been unnecessarily incurred, that disciplinary matters have been laxly and inconsistently handled, and that managerial control of the center's operations can be significantly improved while simultaneously reducing costs.

"Although the center has been in operation for over 18 months, the contractor has yet to establish adequate records to provide systematic and centralized information and evaluations showing the progress of enrollees and the effectiveness of the various courses.

"The contractor has permitted some individuals with recognized behavior problems to remain. The continued presence of such persons has been extremely disrupting to other enrollees. . . . We recommend that in order to improve control of enrollee behavior the Job Corps require the center to establish and publish rules of conduct which will provide appropriate procedures to engender conformance."

Another scorching document also is having considerable impact on House sentiment.

It is a letter from the father of a Job Corps "graduate," who after 28 months of training in three different centers at an estimated cost of $25,000, still lacked the necessary skill to get a job.

Following are highlights of this poignant report from Carl T. Thompson, Oklahoma City, Okla.:

"My son Gary graduated from the Job Corps. I am informed that he graduated from both basic and advanced electronics. He signed into the Poplar Bluff, Mo., center on Jan. 30, 1965, was transferred to Tongue Point, Ore., on Feb. 20, 1966, and then to San Marcos, Tex., Jan. 20, 1967. He was released June 29, 1967.

"Gary is still ill-equipped to take his place in society. He is uneducated and untrained. We waited for the school year to start, only to find that not one credit can be obtained from his 28 months in the corps. At the moment, Gary is going to the adult study center high school. However, it will take at least three years to obtain a high school diploma in this way. He will undoubtedly be drafted before completion."

A similar complaint was voiced by four counselors who quit the Albuquerque, N.M., women's center. They charged the educational program was badly organized, and the girls were not learning anything that would be of practical value to them.

Declared one of the counselors, "Many of the girls stay in bed all morning and loll around all afternoon. By night, they are raring to go."

Early last month, after a "near riot" by 200 Job Corps enrollees of the Rodman Center, the City Council of New Bedford, Mass., unanimously adopted a resolution demanding "federal police" protection against a recurrence.

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INTERNATIONAL DEADBEATS—Assorted nations around the globe—including some of our staunchest "allies"—still owe Uncle Sam $21.3 billion in World War I debts. The only nation paying off its debt is Finland, which has whittled her liability down to $4.7 million. International deadbeats include Austria, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Greece, Italy, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

□ □ □

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Militant LASO Conference

Castroite Plans for a 'Total Revolution in the U.S.'

By PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE

Although the first conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (LASO) was held in Havana, Cuba, during the month of August the impact has not yet been felt throughout this hemisphere. The next months will tell us whether or not the call for revolution so wildly demanded at the LASO meetings will materialize.

The most immediate reaction to this conference appears to be the downgrading of the existing Communist party organizations in those Latin American countries where revolutionary conditions are considered ripe. This apparent refusal to continue to support the existing Communist parties is not as devious, however, as it might first appear.

Besides being bureaucratic and somewhat old-fashioned, many of the Latin American Communist parties operate almost exclusively in the larger cities and have very little contact with the peasants in the countryside. The situation is very similar to that in Cuba, where the Communist party structure was restricted to the cities and had little initial contact with the revolutionary Communists led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara in the mountains.

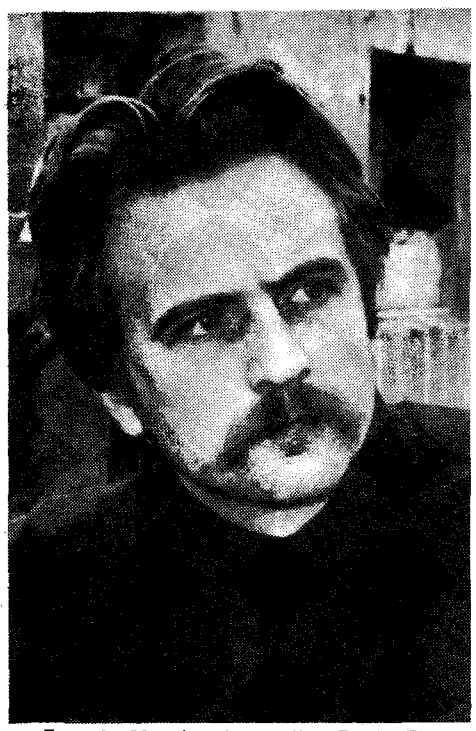
At this LASO conference the tone for the speeches and meetings—and for the plan for Latin America—was set by the official slogan: "The duty of revolutionaries is to make the revolution." Fidel Castro made this apparent when he stated that "we would prefer to make a mistake in starting a revolution than a mistake in not starting a revolution."

Fidel, in his nearly four-hour speech, demanded that the conference support only those revolutionaries interested in armed struggle. His attack on the Venezuelan Communist party, whose leaders refused to even attend the conference, was especially bitter. He charged that the Venezuelan Communists were led by "a group of traitors . . . who abandoned guerrilla fighters and took the road of accommodation."

This militant, open attack on the "revisionist" pro-Moscow Latin American Communist parties could have been predicted prior to the conference. Che Guevara, the honorary president of LASO, reportedly wrote to his Cuban comrades some weeks prior to the conference:

"Our aspirations to victory may be summed up thus: total destruction of imperialism by eliminating its firmest bulwark: imperialist domination by the United States of America. To carry out, as a tactical method, the gradual liberation of the peoples, one by one or in groups; forcing the enemy into a difficult fight far from its own territory; liquidation of all of its sustaining bases; that is, its dependent territories."

In this same statement, Che also made his now famous call for other Viet Nams. His exact words claimed that "America, a forgotten continent in the world's more recent liberation struggles, which is now beginning to make itself heard through the Tricontinental in the voice of the vanguard of its peoples, the Cuban Revolution, has before it a task of much greater relevance: to create a second or third Viet Nam, or the second and third Viet Nam of the world."



French Marxist journalist Regis Debray, now held by Bolivian authorities, thinks guerrillas should ferment revolutionary uprisings.

New Leadership Required

In another context, the Marxist French writer and guerrilla chronicler, Regis Debray, has written in his book *Revolution in the Revolution?*: "The effective leadership of an armed revolutionary struggle requires a new style of leadership, a new method of organization, and new physical and ideological responses on the part of leaders and militants." Debray also quotes Fidel as stating, "Who will make the revolution in Latin America? Who? The people, the revolutionaries, with or without a party."

This apparent heresy of refusing to simply back the existing Communist parties in the various Latin American countries signals an important departure from previous attempts to gain power in these countries.

Formerly, the Communist party was considered *the* revolutionary factor. If an armed revolution was to be contemplated it had to go through the existing Communist structure. Now, all of this has changed. Here is how Regis Debray, himself arrested with the guerrillas in Bolivia, explains the new policy:

"Fidel Castro says simply that there is no revolution without a vanguard; that this vanguard is not necessarily the Marxist-Leninist party; and that those who want to make the revolution have the right and the duty to constitute themselves a vanguard, independently of these parties.

"It takes courage to state the facts out loud when these facts contradict a tradition. There is, then, no metaphysical equation in which vanguard = Marxist-Leninist party; there are merely dialectical conjunctions between a given function—that of the vanguard in history—and a given form of organization—that of the Marxist-Leninist party. These conjunctions arise out of prior history and depend on it. Parties exist here on earth and are subject to the rigors of terrestrial dialectics. If they have been born, they can die and be reborn in other forms. . . .

"War, as we know, is an extension of politics, but with specific procedures and methods. The effective leadership of an armed revolutionary struggle requires a new style of leadership, a new method of organization, and new physical and ideological responses on the part of leaders and militants."

The importance of this evaluation of the revolutionary wars envisioned for Latin America—and the United States—can be grasped by the reader's own confusion regarding the various revolutionary groups in the United States.

Previously, most Americans have been content to believe that only the Communist party of the United States posed any serious threat to our country. Now, however, we are suddenly confronted with a number of individuals and organizations who, although obviously Communist in program and demands, are not a part of the specific Communist party.

Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown and the whole of the SNCC organization provide an example of this point. There is no real evidence that would support the belief that today either Carmichael or Brown is a member of the orthodox Communist party. Yet, no one would seriously deny their revolutionary character or the fact that they espouse a Communist political "line." They are a part of this "new" revolutionary movement of which Fidel Castro, Che Guevara and Regis Debray are speaking. They typify what Debray has called the "new style of leadership."

This does not mean that the Communist party is any less dangerous or that these men are not tied to the international movement. It simply means that all of us need to reinterpret our concepts of the Communist movement and to understand that it has undergone a significant change.

Goal: World Domination

The aims of communism remain static, with world domination the major goal. The only serious split among the various Communist groupings is how best to achieve this goal.

The Communist party of the United States poses a long-term threat, but it is presently content, for tactical reasons, to play a waiting game. It is more intent on gaining a mass membership and appearing to be a "democratic" group than on being a "revolutionary party."

Other groups in the United States (Progressive Labor and SNCC, for instance) are calling for the "revolution" now. They are sparking and arming the black ghetto revolutionaries. In reality, they pose a more immediate threat to our country.

The LASO conference threw its lot in with the revolutionaries who are demanding an immediate guerrilla war. The closing resolution of the LASO meeting stressed this need and concluded: "A duty that cannot be postponed is that of striking imperialism hard and everywhere it hurts most and brings victory nearer, forcing imperialism to disperse its forces and to fight on several fronts simultaneously."

This same theme was stressed throughout the conference. In a message from Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh not only supported the conference, but noted that the meetings were "stepping up the hard, protracted and surely victorious revolutionary struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, with a view to completing the liberation of the nations in the Western Hemisphere and actively contributing to the defense of world peace."

Messages of support and solidarity were received from most of the Com-

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munist nations. The delegates were almost unanimous in their disdain for any other political course except armed revolution. Annibal Munoz of Ecuador stated that "there is no middle ground; either a man is a revolutionary and embarks upon the path of armed insurrection, or he is not a revolutionary." The Argentine delegation said that the "only tactic, the only policy which can possibly lead to freedom is armed struggle."

Representatives from Peru announced the immediate resumption of the guerrilla war in their country. Their spokesman said "we are now in a better position than when we launched ourselves into the struggle in 1965. There is no other way to achieve national liberation."

Bolivian guerrillas sent their greetings to the LASO meeting and declared that the guerrillas "in the Amazon jungles are also fighting with weapons in hand to obtain a better future for our country. We have a rendezvous with the revolution, and you can be sure that the Cuban example inspires us. We hope, we aspire to be the second free country of our America."

A fraternal delegation attended the LASO conference from the United States, including such people as Jeff Gordon of the Progressive Labor party. Also in attendance, according to *Gramma,* the official organ of the central committee of the Cuban Communist party, were U.S. folk singers Barbara Dane and Irwin Silber, who were among the signers of a strongly anti-American resolution.

Stokely's Seditious Speech

But undoubtedly the biggest name from this country was Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael, the former leader of SNCC, was praised in Cuba as this country's leading exponent of violent revolution. Carmichael responded in kind. In a declaration Carmichael commemorated the second anniversary of the Watts riots and said, in part:

"Comrades of the Third World, of Africa, Asia and Latin America: I want you to know that the Afro-Americans in the United States are fighting for their liberation and that this struggle is not a reformist movement which aspires to become part of the U.S. It is a struggle of total revolution in which we intend to change the imperialist,

The late Ernesto "Che" Guevara is shown in happier days in Havana, flanked by Red Chinese bigwigs.

capitalist and racist structure of the United States that oppresses you on the outside and us on the inside. . . .

"We have no other alternative but to take arms and fight for our total liberation and for a total revolution in the United States.

"We want you to know that ours is not a struggle for peace, for law and order. Ours is a struggle for justice, equality and the redistribution of wealth within the U.S. . . ."

Carmichael ended his declaration of outright sedition by shouting: "Brothers, we are ready to begin, today, to destroy from within the structures that have oppressed us all, and we hope that you will begin to destroy them also, from the outside. Let us march forward. We shall win!"

Through his statements, coupled with those of his Cuban hosts, Carmichael made it clear that the ghetto riots are not only going to continue but increase in intensity as the black revolutionaries tie their proposed guerrilla war concepts to the international revolutionary struggle.

Negro Guerrilla Training

The SNCC organization was also represented on this Cuban journey by Jules Lester and Harold Ware, both leading speakers and advocates for the "Black Power" movement. While Stokeley Carmichael only used Cuba as a springboard for further globe-trotting to Hanoi and Algeria, these two young men returned to the United States from Havana

"Black Power" leader Stokely Carmichael, who attended the LASO conference, has loudly called for urban guerrilla warfare in the United States.

and immediately began implementing the plans of the LASO meeting.

There is also a strong indication that there are presently some 200 Negroes being trained in Cuba in courses of political agitation and guerrilla warfare. It is known that the three SNCC representatives did visit one guerrilla training camp in the Province of Oriente and talked extensively with the trainees.

Since their return to the United States both Ware and Lester have been active advocating violence in this country. Ware has been touring the South stirring up trouble in Nashville and Atlanta while Lester is now a staff writer for the pro-Communist newspaper, the *National Guardian.* The SNCC role at this conference and the prospects for the future were summed up by Carmichael at a press conference on August 13 when he stated: "We are moving toward urban guerrilla warfare within the United States."

The LASO conference concluded with the statement that conditions already exist in most Latin American countries for the beginning of successful armed struggle. All that is needed are revolutionaries and they are being trained now in Cuba. We can expect to see more and more armed violence spreading throughout the hemisphere as the Communists attempt to force the United States into fighting in many more Viet Nams.

How Long Will the Nixon-Reagan Strategy Work?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Whatever the pundits may be saying, Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is not actively running for the Republican presidential nomination. Nor is he preparing a blitz on the forces now loyal to former Vice President Richard Nixon. The public prints are, of course, full of "inside" stories to prove the opposite—and they make good reading. But they just aren't true.

To understand what the two Republican leaders are up to, it is necessary only to credit them with the kind of political skills that have made them the focus of journalistic attention today. Both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Nixon are fully aware of the cost to them and to their party of the kind of warfare that preceded the 1964 Republican convention. Any kind of open or "secret" warfare between the two men can only help the Democrats.

Being cognizant of this prime fact, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Nixon are working under a tacit agreement. Gov. Reagan has let it be known that he is leaving the field open to Dick Nixon and will continue to do so unless and/or until there is a marked change in Mr. Nixon's forces. By that I mean that Mr. Reagan's emergence as a candidate will be contingent on how Mr. Nixon makes out in his efforts to sew up the GOP's middle and lower-echelon officialdom and on the kind of showing he makes in the primaries.

In practical terms, this sets a date for any play by Gov. Reagan. If Mr. Nixon sweeps the New Hampshire and the Wisconsin primaries, then the Reagan "candidacy" will fade and the governor will make it clear that he intends to pass up this chance for the presidential nomination.

If, however, Mr. Nixon falters—or if he tears his political pants between now and April 2—when the Badger State shows its preferences—then Mr. Reagan can be expected to push ahead.

This does not mean that the Reagan forces, vocal and energetic, will sit on their hands between now and then. The governor's followers are determined to project him into the two primaries whether he wills it or not. And they will do their

Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon will attempt to avoid working at cross purposes.

utmost to show that their candidate has real grass-roots strength and that touch of success the Republican party so desperately seeks.

But Mr. Reagan will not participate in their efforts to stall the Nixon drive. The governor's speaking engagements, touted by the pundits as proof positive that he is actively running, were all made six months ago—and he is accepting only those appearances that are obligatory if he is not to rule himself completely out of the race. He has, moreover, put aside several projects that would work to his benefit because they might be interpreted as one more bid for the nomination.

Mr. Nixon, on the other hand, is pulling out all the stops. He has committed himself to the race, but should he realize after the Wisconsin primary that his star is waning, he will undoubtedly make an Alphonse-Gaston bow in the direction of California.

According to a highly reliable source, in fact, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Nixon have agreed to the strategy outlined above. Whether this agreement has been precisely spelled out is a matter for conjecture. But it can be stated flatly that both men have explored the consequences of this strategy and discussed it—if only in those carefully noncommittal terms that are the linguistic coinage of the political world.

Strategies have a way of coming apart. Gov. Reagan is under tremendous pressure from within and without his official family to start his gung-ho assault on the nomination right now. He has resisted this for many reasons, not the least of which is that by remaining quiet, he enhances the successes of his supporters. At the same time, he maintains the kind of relationship with Dick Nixon and with the party that will pay off in handsome dividends when and if he makes his play.

There will be pressures on Mr. Nixon to fight until the last delegate vote is counted in Miami Beach come next summer. Those pressures will be hard to resist. By the time of the Wisconsin primary, he will have a full-fledged organization going—an organization that will refuse to fold its tents and silently steal away.

The chances are that in the months to come, both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Nixon will begin to bend to the pressures on them. But it is safe to say that this bending will not be discernible to the naked eye and the unassisted ear. The Reagan-Nixon strategy and the understanding on which it is based make too much sense to be cast aside—and who will deny that Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon are sensible men?

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Will Constitutionality of Forced Unionism Finally Be Decided?

New California suit may compel Supreme Court to make ruling it dodged in 1961

By WILLIAM B. RUGGLES in the Dallas *Morning News*

Out in California, 29 employes of the McDonnell Douglas Corp. filed suit in a federal district court contending that compulsory unionism is a violation of constitutional rights. George L. Seay of Arletta, a former member of the Hodcarriers Union, has spearheaded this attack as an "agency fee" employe of the company. He is an active opponent of compulsory unionism and an active worker and official in a new organization, Californians for Right to Work.

The suit contends that a "union security" contract forces the company employes to pay union dues to the International Association of Machinists and Aeroplane Workers in violation of the 1st, 5th and 9th Amendments to the Constitution.

They point out that the dues are used to "propagate political and economic doctrines, concepts, ideological and legislative programs opposed by the plaintiffs."

In originating the right-to-work principle as law in 1941, the Dallas *News* urged adoption of a clear constitutional amendment to make undebatable the right of every American citizen to join a union or keep out of a union without imperiling his right to employment in a business or industry which has been unionized.

The *News* believed then and believes now that this right is implicit in the Bill of Rights. What was wanted and obviously needed was language so definite that no court can misconstrue its meaning.

In the 26 intervening years "civil rights" have become a national question. Our highest court rules that, regardless of employer preference, a worker cannot be denied a job because he is a Negro. But, although on several occasions the issue has been before it, the court has willfully abstained from ruling on the constitutional right to his job of a non-union employe, even though it has with reasonable consistency held that financial remuneration had to be made for violated rights.

Six years ago, the compulsory union shop was challenged before the U.S. Supreme Court in the Street (Looper) case from Georgia. A split decision blithely ignored the constitutional question but required return to the plaintiffs of all of the dues they had paid. Said Justice Hugo Black, dissenting:

"The federally sanctioned union shop contract here, as it actually works, takes a part of the earnings of some men and turns it over to others, who spend a substantial part of the funds so received in efforts to thwart the political, economic and ideological hopes of those whose money has been forced from them under authority of law. . . . If this is constitutional, the 1st Amendment is not the charter of political and religious liberty its sponsors believed it to be."

Also in his judicially thoughtful and reasoned dissent, Justice Black opined that "the constitutional question raised in this case . . . is bound to come back here soon with a record so meticulously perfect that the court cannot escape deciding it."

With a definite contention under three separate amendments, Seay and his colleague plaintiffs feel that the issue is so presented that theirs is the case to effectuate the Black prophecy.

Whether the Supreme Court, brought face to face with the plain issue, would rule in favor of what is clearly a citizen's right is, of course, debatable. But, if it should face the facts in the true spirit and intent of the Constitution, union labor would be forced to accept the course the *News* proposed in the first place, but to which the unions have been consistently opposed. This would be to submit the right-to-work amendment to national vote.

Neither the amendment proposed by the *News* nor any of the present state right-to-work laws deny to the unions any just right. Unions for all employes desiring them could not be barred from existence. The only thing they could not do would be to force unwilling employes to join or to collect dues from non-union members. Under law, unions would remain existent and self-governing by their members, working side by side with non-union members.

Unions oppose state right-to-work laws, but no fairer provision for the working citizen is provided by statutes. And so long as free men cherish freedom, badly needed is the ironclad and unchallengeable guarantee of the right by law to work.

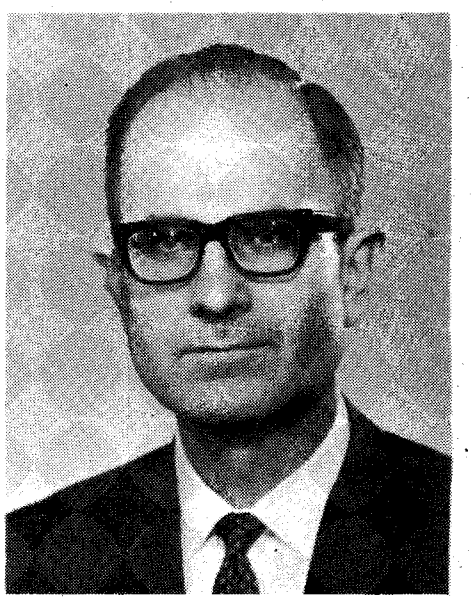
Within the last two years the nation has seen the wishes of a territory of the United States, Guam, thwarted. The desire for a right-to-work law was so thoroughly expressed that the necessary two-thirds vote of the territorial legislature overrode veto of it by the U.S. puppet governor. A single man, not a resident of Guam, a man who was reversing his own previously expressed favor of the right-to-work law, used the presidential power of veto to deny this right of citizenship to this helpless territory.

That act of President Johnson could be made impossible by constitutional provision. It could be done by a decision of the Supreme Court that the Founding Fathers would approve. It is to be hoped that the California case becomes the means to obtain that necessary relief.

From 1941 to date, the *News* repeatedly has stated that it is not anti-union and, on the contrary, is in favor of voluntary unionism wherever employes so desire. Where unfair working conditions exist, unions are needed.

But, as this newspaper has also stated, unions, achieving uncontrolled power, can develop tryannical positions of their own. Union labor has been far from free of individual dictators, of objectionable exploitation of its own members.

Not widely known is the fact that the right-to-work movement has had substantial support from men who have embraced unionism voluntarily but who have found inherent fault in its practice. For one thing, over-acquisitive unionism, as in the recent instance of the New York newspapers, has made



National Right to Work Committee Chairman Reed Larson calls new suit a "giant stride toward ending compulsory unionism."

business on which members depend for jobs so unprofitable that closing out has been unavoidable.

In Connecticut, rank-and-file members of UAW are calling publicly for a state right-to-work law. They have also revolted against being assessed $20 each to finance the now-concluded Ford strike. Also in California, UAW members on the same issue burned their union membership cards in a public demonstration at Anaheim.

In the California case, the view of Reed Larson, executive vice president of the National Right to Work Committee, deserves stress: "This is a giant stride toward ending compulsory unionism in this country. The suit is more evidence of growing determination by union members to reject the dictatorial edicts of top union professionals. The courage of these rank-and-filers in defying union bosses is an inspiration to all freedom-loving Americans."

☐ ☐ ☐

ONE MAN, ONE BUREAUCRAT— "The General Accounting Office notes that in one Job Corps center in California, a staff of 1,078 was in charge of 1,869 enrollees. The Department of Agriculture had better look to its laurels; it may not, after all, become the first government agency to reach the level of one bureaucrat per client." —From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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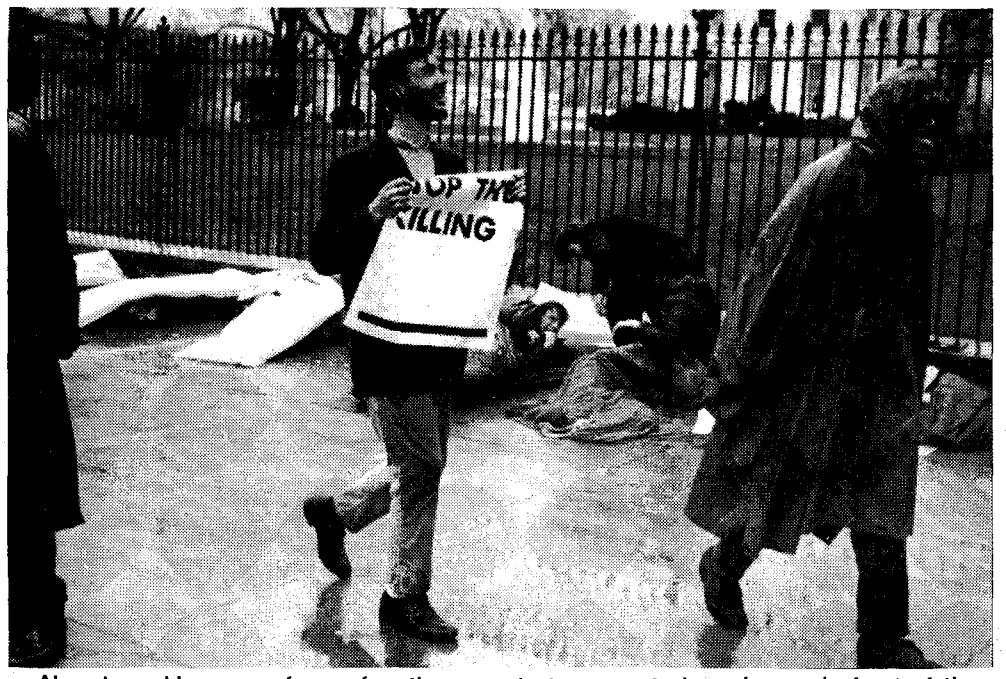

Almost weekly, some form of anti-war protest seems to be going on in front of the White House. But if there have been any demonstrations in Hanoi, they are a well-kept secret.

Public Should Be Told Full Truth About Hanoi

By ALICE WIDENER

At his press conference on November 1, President Johnson said about the opponents of his policy in Viet Nam, "I don't want to be critical of anyone. I think, though, that if the American public could read Hanoi's cables and statements and could see their [the North Vietnamese'] reaction to some of the things that are being said in the country [here at home], that they [American critics] would agree with me that all their private proposals and statements have not contributed a great deal to the solution that we so eagerly seek."

Perhaps it is naive or simplistic to ask the question, but why on earth can't the American public read Hanoi's cables and statements?

When asked to whom they are sent, President Johnson replied, "They are statements to people in this country. They are statements to people in other countries. They are statements on their radio. They are statements in their press. They are statements in their propaganda."

Obviously, then, Hanoi's cables and statements are not secret ones. So according to what President Johnson says, they are known to all except to the American public. Yet we Americans are those who have the biggest stake in the Viet Nam war; we are forfeiting lives in it, we are footing the bills for it. If anyone urgently needs to know what Hanoi is saying, we do. And if knowledge of what Hanoi is saying would alter the opinion of protesters against our Viet Nam policy, then why doesn't the Administration use all available means of communication to let us Americans know what we need to know for unified, wholehearted moral support for our GIs in Viet Nam and for our emotional as well as rational understanding of why we are fighting over there in Southeast Asia?

As things stand now, it seems the President is being poorly advised in psy-war. The "no-win" advocates evidently have persuaded him to conceal the full text of North Vietnamese propaganda from us for fear of whipping up our anti-Communist sentiment at home and our demanding all-out war against North Viet Nam, sentiment of the kind that was directed against the Hohenzollern regime in World War I and the Hitler regime in World War II.

The no-win advocates' failure to use legitimate wartime propaganda techniques during the Korean War and now during the Viet Nam war has been a severe handicap to American prestige at home and abroad. This failure has conceded the propaganda advantage to the Communists who are experts at psychological warfare.

It is a grave mistake for the Administration to suppress the outrageous lies and slander that Hanoi broadcasts about our country and to suppress information about Hanoi's direct communications with its pro-Communist agents in our own midst. We have a right to know who these agents are. Still more important, we Americans—of whom more than half a million are risking their lives in Viet Nam—have a right to know about the real nature of the enemy.

President Johnson's statement clarified a mystery for those of us who have been completely at a loss to understand why the press and TV are full of vilification of Lyndon B. Johnson and void of criticism of Ho Chi Minh.

Everyone in our country has seen protesters' placards with hideous caricatures of our President and evidence of the "dump Johnson" campaign. But no American has seen caricatures of Ho Chi Minh or any hate-Ho propaganda.

The advisers of our President in the State Department and Department of Defense should reconsider their policy of suppression of the news about Ho and Hanoi. We have a right to know about the true conditions of the evil Ho dictatorship in North Viet Nam and about the vicious lies Ho tells about us. The present censorship is putting us into the following deplorable national and international situation: Our President is left vulnerable to enemy propaganda and our enemy's leader remains invulnerable to it.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

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Proposed Constitutional Convention

Liberal Cries of 'Conspiracy'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Fear hung heavily in the Senate committee room. There were cries of alarm about a conspiracy to rewrite the Constitution. If this peril were not averted, there would be chaos in the land.

Witnesses cited some of the possible dangers: legalization of prayer in public schools, a halt to court pampering of the criminally accused, and the most terrifying threat of all—enforcement of a balanced annual budget.

Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R.-Neb.) offered comfort. These potential amendments to the Constitution, he remarked, might indeed be nightmares to the liberal mind. But they could not be added unless 38 of the 50 states ratified them. He suggested, gently, that the consternation of the witnesses was not only premature but a hint that they lacked faith in the people.

The suspicions of Senators William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) and Joseph D. Tydings (D.-Md.), leaders of the chorus of apprehension, were not thus easily to be brushed aside.

They revealed themselves not yet recovered from the shock received last March when they learned that 32 states had petitioned Congress to call a Constitutional Convention—the first since the original in 1787. Purpose: To draft a constitutional amendment nullifying a Supreme Court decree that both houses of a state legislature must be based on the so-called one-man, one-vote principle.

Action by only two more states was necessary to force Congress to act and a number of state legislatures were still in session. In this emergency, the Johnson Administration moved swiftly to apply political pressures.

The threat appeared to fade. The 33rd and 34th states did not act.

Now, seven months later, all the old fears were revived as the Senate Judiciary subcommittee met to consider a bill providing procedures for calling the convention when the 34th state signed up. Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) said the votes were available to report it to the Senate floor.

The bill, drafted by Sen. Sam J. Ervin (D.-N.C.), was designed merely to provide ground rules for the convention when it should be called. But its consideration seemed to concede that the convention would eventually be called, next year if not this year. To Proxmire, such a convocation would be a "long step down a dangerous path."

He was joined by such legal authorities as Theodore C. Sorensen, former White House aide who warned it could be "a runaway convention." After undoing the Supreme Court's good work in reapportioning state legislatures, it would undoubtedly race on, stripping criminals of their legal rights, outlawing federal aid to education, limiting income taxes, and indulging in a number of similar enormities.

Tydings was moved to horror by provisions in the Ervin bill which, he said, could conceivably permit a majority of 26 states, representing only one-sixth of the population, to "rewrite the Constitution."

"You seem to forget that the convention could only propose amendments which would then have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states," Hruska reminded him.

"Why these strange fears as if no common sense was left in the states?" asked Dirksen.

A basic distrust of the states was, indeed, a major theme of the objections. Proxmire said, darkly, that he didn't think many of the 32 states petitioning for the convention knew what they were doing.

It was, fittingly, the Halloween season and, as the exchange continued, the words of James Whitcomb Riley's "Little Orphan Annie" inevitably came to mind. The chamber was haunted by goblins as Proxmire, Tydings, Sorensen, et al., chanted a solemn warning: "A Constitutional Convention 'll git you ef you don't watch out!"

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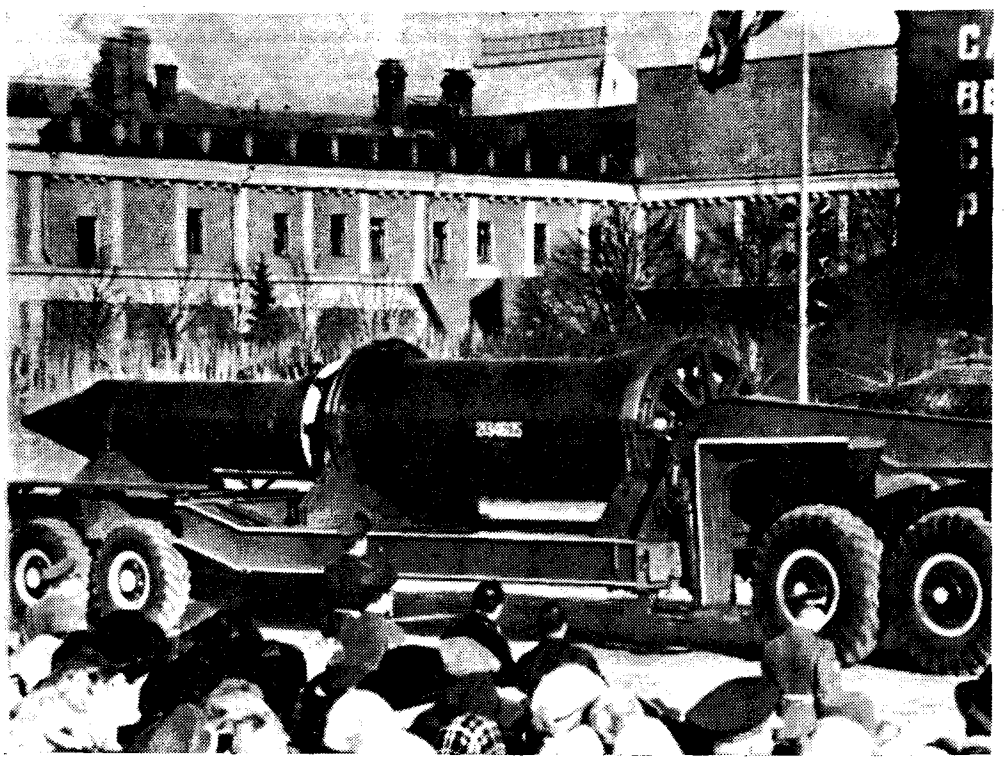

The Soviet Union unveiled this new intermediate-range missile during the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

People Have Right to Know About Secret Soviet Pacts

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara's admission that the Soviets are building satellites capable of carrying nuclear weapons confirms something this writer has long suspected: not what this Administration says but what it withholds from the allegedly soverign American people chiefly merits investigation.

Congress and the Kremlin had been talking about Soviet orbital missiles for at least two years. Yet, it took a direct warning by a prominent senator to force the self-righteous secretary to admit that Moscow may "possibly" be developing a "fractional orbital bombardment system," or FOBS.

A month ago this writer received a tip that Moscow was using armed satellites to "blackmail President Johnson." If true, this would explain the fact that even while Brezhnev was boasting of the USSR's role in killing Americans in Viet Nam, Secretary of State Rusk entertained the Soviet foreign minister at a cozy little lunch.

Now the secretary's reluctant admission of Moscow's continuing hostility (how else interpret the anti-ballistic missile and orbital bomb systems?) emphasized the need to smoke out the full facts concerning our coddling of the Soviet Union.

Starting with the past: What exactly was the Kennedy-Khrushchev agreement whereby the United States not only refrains from ousting Castro by force, but prevents Cuban patriots from using U.S. soil for that purpose?

What evidence has the United States to refute the charge made by responsible Cubans that the Soviets still maintain in Cuban caves middle-range ballistic missiles which Mr. K. promised to withdraw?

Or, coming to the present:

What agreements, tactic, spoken or written, between the United States and the Soviet Union limit our military action in Viet Nam? Have we promised not to escalate the present undeclared half-war that preserves the Communist regime in North Viet Nam and allows misguided Americans free to stage demonstrations that encourage Hanoi to further aggression, thereby killing more Americans?

Has the United States in any way given Moscow the assurance that the United States will not help equip a united West Europe, including Germany, with a nuclear weapons system making it capable of defense against Russia? Is any such promise a part of Moscow's price for a non-proliferation treaty?

What military agreements with the United States has the Soviet Union violated? Has it, as some claim, violated the anti-test ban treaty on at least two occasions? And if so, what, if anything, has the United States done about it?

Why has President Johnson not revealed the activities of Soviet submarines close to the American coast—and our back door? Why has he not told the people that at the beginning of the recent Arab-Israeli war, Moscow placed 20 or more submarines between North America and Egypt, thus practicing brinkmanship of the most dangerous sort?

Finally, as my informant charged, is the Soviet Union using its anti-ballistic missile system to disrupt NATO and its nuclearly armed satellites to force the United States into making even more concessions?

These and other questions are suggested by Secretary McNamara's belated admission of something of which the Kremlin boasted two years ago.

Congress should insist that the Administration reveal the full price which it is paying for its dream of an understanding with our most dangerous enemy.

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MORE STRIKES AHEAD—Administration officials fear that recent work stoppages in the airlines, railroads and automotive industries are but a forerunner of things to come, and that if such labor strife breaks out in 1968 the Democrats will suffer additional political damage. Strikes in the steel and aerospace industries are likely, as is a walkout of the nation's dock workers. Transport workers in New York City have threatened a crippling strike if they do not receive a 30 per cent pay hike and a 25 per cent reduction in the work week.

Captured Document Reveals

North Viets to Keep Fighting During Talks

From the Allen-Scott Report

The feeling is growing at the highest levels of the Johnson Administration that North Viet Nam will be ready to open "peace talks" sometime before the 1968 U.S. presidential elections.

But the talks Hanoi would seek probably would not be accompanied by a cease-fire.

Also, the negotiations would be a tactic in the Communist efforts to take over South Viet Nam rather than a means toward an honorable settlement based on mutual concessions.

This impression of North Viet Nam's intentions in Viet Nam was relayed to President Johnson by Vice President Hubert Humphrey following his private talks with U.S. and South Vietnamese authorities in Saigon.

Humphrey reported that captured documents and statements from prisoners in recent weeks revealed that "an intensive indoctrination program is now being undertaken by Hanoi to prepare Viet Cong troops for a prolonged period of negotiating while fighting."

This new phase of the Viet Nam war is expected early next year, according to information given the vice president during his Saigon briefings.

The first hints of the forthcoming dramatic shift in Hanoi's strategy, the vice president was told, showed up in a 26-page document written by Lee Duan, North Viet Nam's Communist party first secretary.

The document, captured by American troops in operation Cedar Falls, contained instructions to Viet Cong officers from Lee Duan, who, according to U.S. intelligence experts, is now running the war in South Viet Nam from Hanoi.

It stressed that the protracted war strategy for Viet Nam in 1968 would involve both negotiations and fighting, stating:

"Peace talks and military operations will be used to serve in a practical manner our political strategy during the crucial struggle period beginning in 1968 for control of South Viet Nam.

"Governments of South Viet Nam and the U.S. will be brought under strong domestic and international pressure to cease all military operations above the 17th Parallel in exchange for negotiations on our conditions.

"Our strategy will be to exact concessions for an agreement to open talks, but without a cease-fire in South Viet Nam. While negotiations drag on, every effort will be made to erode the positions of the U.S. and South Vietnamese governments with continued military operations. The objective is to force the acceptance of our peace conditions in the south."

Supporting details of Hanoi's "talk while fighting" strategy, according to Humphrey's startling report, was contained in a notebook of a Viet Cong political cadre, captured by U.S. forces in September.

It described a military indoctrination course for 100 Viet Cong officers at a rest camp in Cambodia, which has become a major staging and resupply area for three Communist divisions operating in the central highlands of South Viet Nam.

During the course, the Communist officers were called upon to explain to their troops the meaning of three resolutions adopted in secret by the North Vietnamese La Dong (Communist) party. These were:

1. The protracted war in South Viet Nam would be supported with all available resources in North Viet Nam.

2. There would be simultaneous conduct of war and negotiations similar to those with the French in 1954, and at Panmunjom in Korea in 1953.

3. At a predetermined date in 1968, a general offensive and uprising would be launched in South Viet Nam in an all-out attempt to force the collapse of organized government throughout the country.

Humphrey reported that the diary of the captured Viet Cong officer clearly indicated Hanoi has been psychologically preparing its "hard core" military leaders in South Viet Nam for the "talk while fighting" strategy for at least three months.

In September North Viet Nam's Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap sent a 35,000-word memorandum to all North Vietnamese troops outlining the ideological base for a return to guerrilla warfare.

Gen. Giap, who accompanied Lee Duan to Moscow for last week's 50th Anniversary of the Communist Revolution in Russia, also described negotiations in his order of battle as "the highest form of warfare when employed during war."

A Central Intelligence Agency estimate, which Humphrey forwarded with his report, also highlighted the new strategy of the North Vietnamese, stating:

"Hanoi is not out to win by occupying territory or setting up a rival government in South Viet Nam. The new strategy, as being developed by Lee Duan, is for North Viet Nam to win by undermining South Vietnamese and American morale and getting the Saigon government to sue for peace."

The intelligence estimate also indicates, alarmingly, that the political control network of the Viet Cong has slowly but relentlessly grown throughout South Viet Nam since the 1963 overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem, despite the unbroken chain of American military victories.

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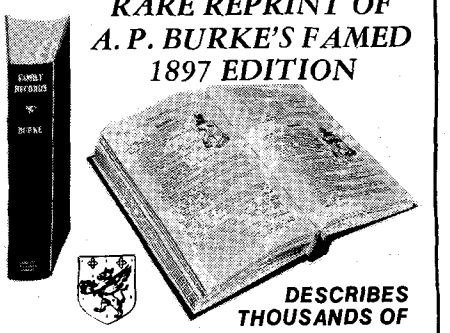

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Embarrassed Trust-Busters

Would Breaking Up GM Help Consumers?

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The news that the Department of Justice has a big trust-busting case worked up against General Motors has been described as an "embarrassment" to President Lyndon Johnson, who is trying to hold the remnants of his business support together. And because of LBJ's campaign needs, the realists in Washington doubt that the proposed suit to fragmentize GM will ever reach court. If it does, it might entail a double irony. For legal action to dissolve GM would not only embarrass Johnson, it would also put the Republicans' George Romney on the spot. After all, Romney was one of the most vocal of the "break up General Motors" people in the days when the headed the American Motors Co.

Romney coupled his advocacy of a GM dissolution with a recommendation that Walter Reuther's United Automobile Workers be fragmentized, too. No doubt the Michigan governor still retains his convictions about the need for smaller, more competitive units on both sides of the labor-management fence throughout the world of automobile production. But he hasn't had to talk about anti-trust needs recently, for they haven't been an issue.

If the Department of Justice ever did start its proposed suit, it would have to be taken seriously. For recent Supreme Court decisions make it plain that venerability does not protect a merger. Nor does a President or presidential aspirant's attitude necessarily have much to do with the case one way or the other.

The Du Ponts, it may be remembered, supported Eisenhower over Bob Taft for the presidential nomination in 1952 in hopes that it might help them hang onto their General Motors stock interest, which had been acquired before 1920. But whatever his personal feelings might have been, Eisenhower did not stand in the way of the suit that subsequently led to the Supreme Court's 1957 decision which forced Du Pont to get out of GM.

Whether it would improve competition if GM were to be split into its component companies (Chevrolet, Cadillac, Buick, and so on) is a different question. It is not the fact that the Chevrolet GM division is allied to Pontiac and Cadillac that is acutely bothersome to Ford, Chrysler and American Motors.

The real trouble is that Chevrolet, taken by itself, is almost half of GM. Even if it were split off from the corporate GM body, Chevrolet would still have a huge jump on its competitors in the smaller car price range. Chrysler's Plymouths and Dodges would still be up against the far more numerous Chevrolet Impalas, Bel Airs and Biscaynes, and the GM Chevrolet division would still have an advantage in the so-called "economies of scale."

Breaking up GM would, of course, make it somewhat more difficult for its car producing components to get the advantages of GM corporate finance and centralized research, and parts might cost more if they had to be purchased from independent parts companies. But the probability that the costs to the car consumer might actually rise if GM were to be fragmentized is hardly a good anti-trust argument. The purpose of the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust legislation was to protect the consumer, not to rob him of some of his purchasing power.

Our whole automotive history goes to disprove the old Brandeisean contention that smallness helps competition. The first Henry Ford couldn't lower his unit car price and raise his wages until his assembly lines had vastly expanded their runs. It is not until "standard volume" is reached that high wages and low prices are justified.

The rule of mass production is: the bigger the operation, the less the likelihood of price gouging. A year ago Chrysler and Ford raised car prices. But when GM didn't follow suit, Chrysler and Ford had to cut their prices back. If GM had gone along with Ford and Chrysler, the sales of Volkswagens in the U.S. would have certainly increased. We are going to get competition no matter what.

If GM were to be broken up, Chevrolet, Buick and Cadillac would still thrive. But finance and research costs would almost certainly rise, and the foreigner—Volkswagen, Toyota, etc.—would begin to pick up sales through his own competitive economies of sale. Would that help Chrysler and American Motors? Unless it can prove the affirmative, the Department of Justice had better leave well enough alone.

(Copyright 1967, King Features Synd.)

Jobless Pay for Strikers Pushed

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

Walter Reuther, head of the United Auto Workers, is reported ready to push for new laws providing for state payment of relief to strikers after they have been off the job four to five weeks.

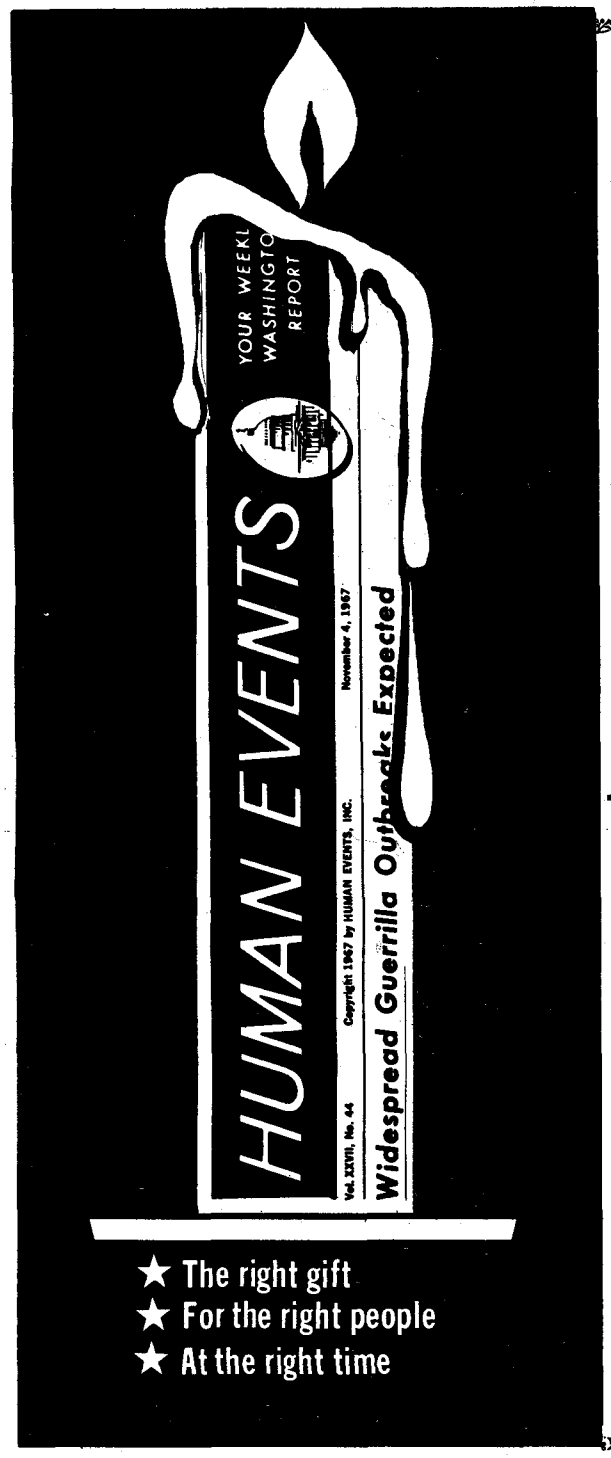
Not many years ago, such an outrageous proposal for tax money to finance strikes would have been laughed off as another of Reuther's impractical welfare projects. Today it is a different matter. Four states already have laws giving varying amounts of aid to strikers.

According to the Reuther-type reasoning, strikers are entitled to federal unemployment money because they are just as much out of work as if they had been laid off because of technological or other causes.

That such a preposterous scheme could even be considered says much about the long steps that have been taken toward the welfare state. If the day ever comes when the federal government pays subsidies to strikers, then Heaven help private enterprise. It would be finished.

The cards now are heavily stacked in favor of big unions, such as Reuther's. Because there is no limit on size of these massive arrays of union power, Mr. Reuther can force car makers like Ford Motor Co. to grant highly inflationary wages and fringe benefits in order to get back into production.

Instead of further tipping the scales in favor of too-powerful unions, new laws are needed to prevent crippling industry-wide strikes that penalize the public.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Old-Fashioned Tommyrot

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Some young ones may find it hard to believe, but there was a time, not too long ago, when our schools and colleges taught little but fripperies. Stress was laid on such folderol as the Three R's, as though the ability to add a column of figures correctly or to write a grammatical sentence had any permanent value.

This provided opportunity for the teachers to inculcate chauvinism when teaching American history. A lad whose homework involved him in the intricacies of long division and the difference between "who" and "whom" had little time for involvement in nitty-gritty issues, and so was easily brainwashed into believing the men of 1776 and their successors had given us something special.

We accepted almost reverently that now-debunked figment of some hack-writer's imagination, the "American Dream." Ours was the land, we were told, of opportunity such as man had never known before; here no caste system could hold you back from reaping what you could earn.

We swallowed that and similar pap so thoroughly that we were all proud to say, first generation or fifth, "I am an American!" And even the many immigrants gloried when they could use that phrase, and were properly condescending to "greenhorns" who could not yet claim that honor.

But now, thanks to the Higher Learning, we know that the American Dream was, in reality, only a nightmare. The inscription on the Statue of Liberty is just another phoney commercial, concocted by greedy capitalists searching for wage-slaves to exploit. Once arrived, the "teeming masses" were herded into ghettos from which it was impossible to rise. (If millions did get out and entered the mainstream, that was sheer accident. It wasn't planned that way.)

We are all in debt to the many progressive teachers now telling this generation of students the bitter truth of what America really is. And once these pupils grasp the enormity of the situation, they may well rise and throw off the shackles that bind them. Come to think of it, they're doing pretty well at just that already.

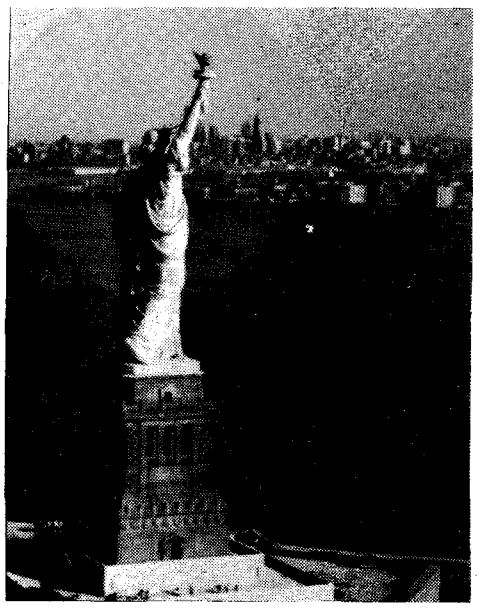
Without boasting, I can say Los Angeles is doing its share. I wrote recently of a history instructor at a local junior college who has thrown off the shackles of grammar and says "between you and I." I now learn of another accomplishment.

A pupil of his tells me that the teacher, at the start of the term, looks over the class roster and asks those whose names suggest foreign origin where their forebears came from. Then he says, "You are all born losers."

That—as intended—startles them and he then explains: "People who have made good stay put. Your folks came here because they were losers. And you are losers, too, because"—and then goes on to tell them what is wrong with this country. It apparently takes the rest of the term, but it's worth it. Any trace of pro-American pride should vanish if the kids are paying attention.

Still, it isn't all clear sailing, for old myths die hard. In this same city, I regret to say, Loyola University still makes some obeisance to loyalty to America—and does so without shame.

I must conclude that the staff is made up, in the main, of old fogies. Mind you, I do not say there are no progressives among them—that would be



"Another phony commercial"?

too much to expect today—but these have not yet succeeded in getting rid of the dry rot.

For example, Loyola holds an annual dinner celebrating "New Citizens Week," and I have yet to hear America denounced by one of the speakers. Instead, it is still proclaimed as a blessed land of liberty.

This year one of the new citizens was given her final papers by a local judge, and the lady took the controversial oath of allegiance with obvious pride and eagerness. I looked around waiting for some demonstration against this symbol of governmental coerciveness. But not one dissenter immolated himself. Not even one faculty member or student walked out in protest.

This is a university?

I suggested to the good Fathers that they offer a job to the history teacher I referred to above. There's nothing like a good demonstration to liven things up.

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Just the Facts, Man

From the Detroit *Free Press*

Let us quote verbatim from the President's news conference the other day:

"**Q.** Mr. President, sir, one of the main points in the domestic arguments about the policy of the war has been the fact that in 1964, when you were campaigning, you spoke of not wishing to send American boys to fight a war that Asian boys should fight. Then, a year later, the government did that. I wonder if you could give us your thinking on the change in policy?"

"**A.** There has not been a change in policy. You have quoted one sentence in a speech that contained many sentences and many paragraphs. We have always said—and we repeat now—that we do not want American boys to do the fighting that South Vietnamese ought to do or that Asian boys ought to do. We are asking them to do all they can. But that did not imply then and does not imply now that we would not do what we needed to do to deter aggression."

End of transcript. What the President had said on Oct. 21, 1964, was: "We are not about to send American boys nine or 10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves."

In other words, he didn't "imply" then. He was about as explict as it is possible to be.

Credibility gap? More a chasm.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

High Interest Rates

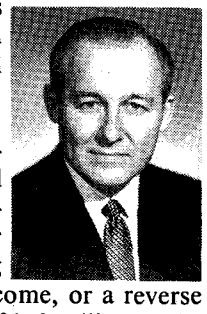
By SEN. JOHN WILLIAMS (R.-Del.)

I cannot help but wonder what Rip Van Winkle would think if he woke up today and found that interest rates today were the highest that they have been since 1870, and how he would reconcile that with the fact that the man now in the White House, just a few years ago, used to make almost daily speeches in the Senate chamber, speeches bewailing what at that time he referred to as alarmingly high interest rates. Interest rates at that time averaged about 4.5 per cent, or approximately 50 per cent lower than they are today. I wonder if the President has forgotten his earlier speeches.

OEO Hypocrisy

By REP. ROBERT MICHEL (R.-Ill.)

The unmatched arrogance of the Office of Economic Opportunity is aptly illustrated by two stories appearing on the United Press International wire.



In the first, OEO confirms that it has granted $620,000 to the University of Wisconsin for a pilot study involving a guaranteed annual income, or a reverse income tax plan for 800 families. The story points out that the families getting the money would be encouraged to find work, but if they did so, their payments would be reduced. OEO calls this "graduated work incentive plan."

Congress has not approved a guaranteed annual income plan, but OEO, which has become its own arbitrary fiefdom, has launched this program as the entering wedge. In fact, OEO admits it plans a $3.4-million expanded reverse income tax program after this so-called pilot study.

The utter hypocrisy of OEO is apparent from the second story, which states that OEO has announced that 35 programs serving 500,000 poor people in one form or another—this could mean having OEO bureaucrats studying them to see if they are really poor or not—will have to close down during the next three weeks unless Congress authorizes money to keep them going. This is the kind of operation that makes us here in the Congress boil.

Since OEO is willing to cut back on whatever programs it has started, in order to finance a controversial, way-out, experimental program of reverse income tax, it obviously has the budgetary power to shift the money into existing programs to keep them going until Congress has acted upon the poverty bill. This would seem to be the commonsense approach—a process that OEO shuns with a passion.

The idea is to propagandize the public—to shift the blame from OEO's allocations of its vast appropriations to the Congress. I think it is time Congress took a close look, and perhaps discarded the idea of a guaranteed annual income for the OEO itself.

Mideast Peace Key

By SEN. HOWARD H. BAKER (R.-Tenn.)

It is entirely practical to create a system of desalting plants in the Mideast that would produce enormous amounts of fresh water. This, in my view, is typical of the Republican approach to the matter of foreign policy; that is, create something that strikes at the root of the problem instead of simply trying to cover it up with money in the nature of foreign aid or direct giveaways.

Red Space Threat

By SEN. JOHN TOWER (R.-Tex.)

The announcement by the defense secretary that the Soviet Union is developing a nuclear weapon for outer space confirms the worries I and other members of the Senate Armed Services Committee have had for some time and the danger of allowing the Soviets free rein in military exploitation of space.

This development shows how much the Soviets think of the treaty they signed guaranteeing peaceful use of outer space.

While the Soviets never have deviated from their program to utilize space for military purposes, the United States has for years allowed its own military space program to lag and lapse. The current Administration for years delayed a decision on our defense-oriented Manned Orbiting Laboratory program and now it must answer for its failure to push that program.

The Manned Orbiting Laboratory was to be the United States' first step toward investigation of the defense potential of near-space. When first proposed in December 1963 Secretary McNamara claimed it would be flying in "late 1967." Since then he has delayed and delayed on it, and here we are in late 1967 with no MOL and no prospect of having one anytime soon. The fiscal year 1968 allocation for MOL was cut twice right in the office of the secretary of defense.

The United States had better get into the defense business in space in a big way and immediately. And if we cannot count on the Administration to realize the gravity of the situation, Congress simply must take matters into its own hands.

If this Administration and its defense secretary allow the United States to fall further behind in the defensive race in space, they will be guilty not just of a missile gap, but of a survival gap.

Nice Work . . .

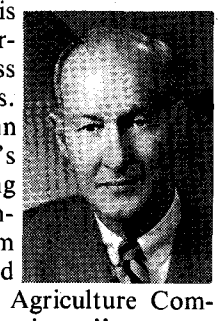
By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Here's a foolproof prescription for getting on the federal dole when it comes to financing a state park. First, you own a ranch alongside a peaceful Texas river. Across the river the view is pleasant and sylvan. Next, you become President of the United States and a memorial is suggested for you. Then, by some magic, your neighbors' land across the river is condemned and they are run off. You just sit back and let nature take its course and, pretty soon, lo and behold, here comes your Administration's Interior Department and dumps $160,000 of the taxpayers' money in your lap to develop your former neighbors' 269 acres into your park. It's all really very simple, if your name is Lyndon Johnson.

Wrong Again

By REP. CHARLES TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

In my 13 years as a member of Congress, I have noted many times that Drew Pearson and his associate, Jack Anderson, are a bit careless in reporting the facts. In a recent column under Jack Anderson's byline, the opening paragraph was "Hunger is a public problem throughout the world except in the House Agriculture Committee, where it's very private."



What followed was an allegation that the House Committee on Agriculture, on which I happen to be the second-ranking Republican member, has no compassion for hungry people. Further, it was contended that a bill by Sen. Stennis of Mississippi to authorize $25 million to alleviate hunger was killed in a secret operation. Here are the real facts:

(1) Assistant secretaries of the department of agriculture and department of health, education and welfare testified before our committee that, while they supported the Stennis bill, no additional legislation was *really* needed. Each man stated that such money and the legislative authority to use it is already available in the comparatively few areas of the country where people do not get enough to eat.

(2) Under the existing food stamp, surplus food disposal and local welfare programs, there is no reason for any person in this country not to have sufficient food.

(3) Public hearings on the Stennis bill had been previously scheduled and publicly announced and *no one* showed up to testify in support of the unnecessary proposal.

High Cost of McNamara

By REP. WALTER S. BARING (D.-Nev.)

If, when and ever the Soviet Union places one of their orbital bombs into the sky, I will rely on the comforting words of Mr. McNamara that the Soviet Union isn't breaking any [nuclear] treaty while —heaven forbid—our cities are destroyed. And I am sure it will be a comforting thought to the victims, too, that the Soviet Union is not fudging on the treaty. As secretary of defense, Mr. McNamara has made one blunder after another: the TFX fiasco; the aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy *where McNamara overruled the Navy; the Atomic Energy Commission, and others because his cost effectiveness studies convinced him that the* John F. Kennedy *would be a better buy as a conventional oil-burning carrier, than nuclear powered. As secretary of defense, Mr. McNamara has refused to listen to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the Viet Nam war and it has proved costly to this nation in the matter of lives and money. His computerized theories and decisions have cost this country greatly.*

Our Precarious Trade Balance

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S.C.)

In 1966 the U.S. balance-of-trade took a startling change: For the first time in recent history, our trade went into the red. The U.S. is now importing more goods than it exports.

Unfortunately, the sobering news of our trade deficit has been withheld from the business community and the people at large. The U.S. Department of Commerce has been publishing misleading trade statistics, thus covering up an alarming development. However, an even more alarming situation is indicated by this credibility gap: The drastic tariff concessions just concluded in Geneva, so crippling to key American industries such as textiles, are based upon the assumption of a trade surplus.

The credibility gap in trade statistics has only recently come to light. The Commerce Department's statistics show that in 1966 U.S. exports amounted to $29.42 billion, while imports were $25.65 billion. Those figures suggest that the U.S. had a trade *surplus* of $3.77 billion.

In actual fact, however, the Commerce Department deliberately includes exports authorized under governmentally subsidized programs, such as Public Law 480 shipments of food. Payments for such shipments are nominal and cannot be converted into dollars.

No reputable business accounting method would include free samples in reports of yearly sales. Yet the Commerce Department inflates the statistics of hard commercial sales with giveaways. A realistic accounting reduces the actual total of exports by 10 per cent.

On the other side of the balance, the Commerce Department undervalues imports. It consistently reports import values on the basis of free-on-board (f.o.b.)—that is, the cost of the goods when put on shipboard at a foreign port. The reports of nearly every other country in the world realistically include the insurance and freight charges that must be paid when the ship reaches the domestic port. In the U.S., these additional charges must be paid in dollars that leave the country. When imports are figured on a true cost-insurance-freight basis (c.i.f.), the costs go at least 10 per cent higher.

When the two adjustments are taken together, they constitute an error of 20 per cent. Instead of the favorable trade balance of $3.77 billion reported by the Commerce Department, the 1966 trade *deficit* was $1.8 billion. The 1967 deficit, based on current projections, will at least be equal. The Commerce Department figures conceal not only a bad trade picture, but also help to obscure an important reason for our unfavorable balance of payments and the gold drain.

This situation was uncovered in recent Senate hearings by the Senate minority leader, Sen. Everett Dirksen, and the Senate Finance Committee chairman, Sen. Russell Long. The new calculations are based upon official but unpublicized U.S. government data. Thanks to the Senate hearings, the Commerce Departmemt is beginning to publish c.i.f. statistics on a limited basis.

□ □ □

REAGAN IN TEXAS—The liberal *Texas Observer* reports (Oct. 27, 1967): "California's governor is running full-tilt for the presidency, but covertly so far. His national unannounced manager is one Tom Reed of California, whose brother, Larry Reed, has been a leading figure in planning for Reagan's banquet in Houston, October 26."

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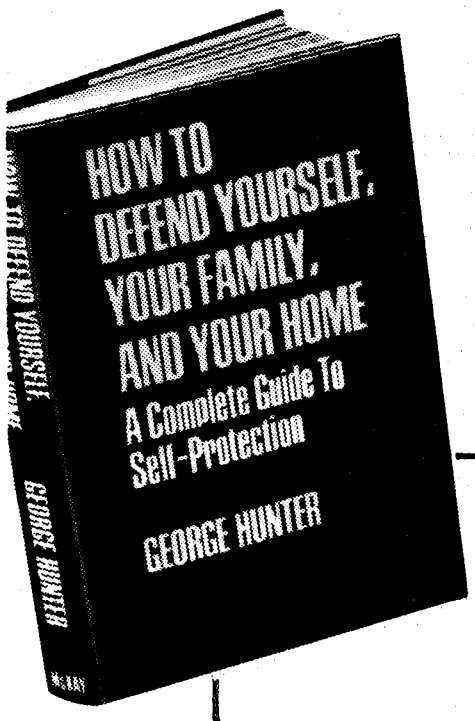

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